

W. GUNTHER PLAUT

the Jews  
in  
Minnesota

*The First Seventy-five Years*

\$5.75

# THE JEWS IN MINNESOTA

*The First Seventy-five Years*

By W. Gunther Plaut

*THE JEWS IN MINNESOTA* is the third in the American Jewish Historical Society's series of communal histories, the first two having dealt with Rochester and Utica, New York. After six years of research, using and often discovering original sources, the author paints a panorama which is both wide in its sweep and at the same time attentive to the individual. Dr. Plaut presents a mass of biographical detail—from the story of a blind pioneer among the Indians to a talmudic scholar turned dramatist; from a rabbi who became a Christian missionary and then recanted, to another rabbi who rode a freight train of meat, potatoes and other victuals to the wilds of North Dakota. We find here for the first time the biography of Jacob Jackson Noah, son of the famed pre-Zionist

*Continued on back flap*

GEN

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01273 0070

GENEALOGY  
977.6  
P698J







AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNAL HISTORIES, NO. 3

# THE JEWS IN MINNESOTA

*The First Seventy-five Years*

BY

W. GUNTHER PLAUT

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

New York • 1959

Allen County Public Library  
900 Webster Street  
PO Box 2270  
Fort Wayne, IN 46801-2270

Library of Congress Catalog Number 59-14710

Copyright © 1959 American Jewish Historical Society

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
BY THE NORTH CENTRAL PUBLISHING COMPANY, ST. PAUL

TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
JONAS PLAUT ז"ל  
MY FATHER AND TEACHER  
1880-1948  
WHO LOVED HISTORY





## *Foreword*

MY DISTINGUISHED colleague and friend, Dr. W. Gunther Plaut, begins this fascinating volume with the story of the pioneers of Minnesota Jewry, the Samuel brothers, the Elfelt family, Julius Austrian, his wife Hannah and his brother Marx, and Jacob Jackson Noah. They were characteristic, these few, of the adventurous Jews who found their way into many a settlement in the colonial East, in the South, the Midwest and the Pacific Coast. Petty traders or professional men, they contributed all that they possessed, of physical vigor and intellectual acumen, to the development of their new homes. Without these Jewish pioneers, the community itself would have been the less stable, less inviting to those who were to come later.

Rabbi Plaut is, himself, such a pioneer. He has joined, through labor and insight, that small handful of folk who are willing to sacrifice time and effort in order to investigate the historical course of American Jewish life on the local level. It is no idle task, to seek to uncover the roots and the branches of the growth which is so attractive today. It requires tremendous dedication of talent and time, strain on one's eye-sight and the exercise of all the ingenuity one possesses. But beyond this are the qualities of understanding and appreciation, if one's research is to avoid the pitfalls of hum-drum dullness and is to throb with life. Rabbi Plaut has bestowed all these upon his inspiring undertaking, informing with his vast knowledge of Jewish history and of human problems the story of the Jews of his adopted state.

This volume, interesting and valid on its own level, serves yet another purpose. It will be added to the slowly growing shelf of scientifically accurate studies of Jewish life in cities and states



## THE JEWS IN MINNESOTA

throughout our great nation, bringing closer the day when a genuine study of all American Jewish localities will make feasible a true history of American Jewry. Without such works as this, much of the general American Jewish historiography is inaccurate and misleading. It is to be hoped that the success of Rabbi Plaut's project, coupled with his recently published history of his own congregation, will stimulate the researching and writing of many more such valuable and worth-while scholarly achievements.

Dr. Bertram W. Korn, PRESIDENT  
*American Jewish Historical Society*



## *Introduction*

SOME YEARS AGO I began research into the history of Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation, in preparation for its centenary observance in 1956.\* It became soon apparent that, since the story of the Congregation went back to the beginnings of the Territorial settlement itself, the project dealt in fact with the genesis of Minnesota Jewry. Thereafter, the area of research rather naturally broadened to encompass the totality of Minnesota Jewish life. The picture which emerged told of pioneers and late-comers, leaders and followers, of success and failure, of Western and Eastern European Jews, of the building of institutional life and individual fortunes — the more or less typical story of Midwestern Jewish settlement.

But it told something else also. It told above all the story of three major Jewish communities — St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth. Founded at different times, these communities developed different characteristics. This was especially true for St. Paul and Minneapolis which, despite their contiguity, showed strong dissimilarities in their intra and extra-communal relationships. The study of these differences will, it is hoped, shed additional light on the differential development of Reform and traditional Judaism, and on the often-asked question why St. Paul has exhibited a marked degree of inter-cultural and civic integration while the Jews of Minneapolis have faced a much higher degree of exclusion and anti-Semitism.

The sources for a study of the origins of Minnesota Jewry were found to be very sparse, especially in the smaller communities. Therefore, the story told of these communities is less than com-

\* That history has since been published under the title *Mount Zion, 1856-1956, The First Hundred Years* (St. Paul: Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation, 1956).

plete. On the other hand, the records of Mount Zion Temple in St. Paul have been meticulously preserved over a period of a hundred years, and the repetitive references to this congregation reflect in part the availability of source materials.

The book does not attempt to go much beyond the end of the First World War. There is grave danger in any attempt to evaluate recent happenings under the guise of historical perspective, when such perspective is all too short. The story here told concludes during the early 1920's—an arbitrary but convenient date for such termination, for by then the main phases of communal development were clearly delineated. Only in a few instances, as in the discussion of anti-Semitism, have I passed beyond that date. It is my hope that after some years I may be able to bring the story farther forward.

Few previous studies could be drawn upon in this work. Albert I. Gordon's perceptive *Jews In Transition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1949) is not a history in the strict sense; it is a cultural and sociological evaluation of past and current trends which played and play on Jewish life in Minnesota. Its communal sources are almost entirely secondary, except, of course, for the oral testimony which forms the core of its individual case histories. There were two other major attempts at telling the Minnesota story: one appeared in a special issue of the *Reform Advocate* (Chicago, November 16, 1907; its authors were Ruby Danenbaum and Hiram D. Frankel), and the other was a collection of articles and reminiscences which was published in the tenth anniversary edition of the *American Jewish World* (Minneapolis, September 22, 1922). Subsequent anniversary issues (especially 1937) do not contain substantial additions to our knowledge of the period prior to 1922.

A good deal of this book draws on primary sources, which include letters, minute books, ledgers, cemetery stones and records, census and court materials, as well as oral information elicited through interviews and questionnaires. Special attention should be called to the Hiram D. Frankel papers, a large collection of personal documents which were catalogued and analyzed for the first time in preparation for this study. Among the chief secondary sources were, of course, the general newspapers of the era. In

## INTRODUCTION

the Jewish field, the early issues of the *Israelite* (later, *American Israelite*) were found invaluable. The *American Jewish World* (published in Minneapolis) proved an indispensable reference.

A large number of persons gave the author valued and liberal assistance, which is herewith most gratefully recorded.

Dr. Samuel Popper helped to plan the initial stages of research and made available his analysis of early newspaper references.

Robert K. Olson and Patric Sweeney of the University of Minnesota Graduate School, and Mrs. Dolores Sieber were part-time research assistants.

Dr. Jacob R. Marcus and his staff of the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati made their great resources generously available, as did the ever-helpful staff of the Minnesota Historical Society.

My special thanks are expressed also to Miss Donna Margette and Mrs. Isidor Rosen for typing and re-typing the manuscript, to Mrs. Walter Levy for preparing the Index, and to the many others whose readiness to provide records, give interviews and assemble data was a constant source of encouragement. Amongst them I must single out Dr. Robert Rosenthal of St. Paul whose studies of early Jewish physicians were freely put at my disposal, and Mrs. Harry Davis who provided many helpful data about Duluth.

The following kindly granted permission to quote from their copyrighted works: Dr. Calvin F. Schmid (data from his *Social Saga of Two Cities*, Minneapolis, 1937); Carey McWilliams (quotations from "Minneapolis: The Curious Twin," *Common Ground*, Vol. VII, No. 1 [Autumn 1946], pp. 61 ff.); the publishers of the *American Jewish Year Book* (statistics appearing in vol. XXX); University of Minnesota Press (quotations from Albert I. Gordon, *Jews In Transition*, Minneapolis, 1949); Macmillan Company (quotations from Graeber and Britt, ed., *Jews in a Gentile World*, New York, 1942); and the publishers of *Jewish Social Studies* (quotations from Charles I. Cooper, "The Jews of Minneapolis and Their Christian Neighbors," in Vol. VIII, No. 1 [Jan. 1946], pp. 31 ff.).

Rabbi Isidore S. Meyer, Librarian-Editor of the American Jewish Historical Society and the Readers of the Society gave the



## THE JEWS IN MINNESOTA

manuscript their most careful and helpful consideration, and my indebtedness to them is very great indeed. I am especially grateful to Dr. Bertram W. Korn, President of the American Jewish Historical Society, for writing the Foreword to this book. Mr. Irving Kreidberg was most helpful in personally seeing the book through the press.

No acknowledgment can sufficiently reflect the significant share which my wife has had in these labors. Her constant encouragement, her patience and her judgment were ever-present sources of strength.

The publication of this volume was aided by a group of generous friends whose names are herewith recorded with profound gratitude: Messrs. Sidney Barrows, Edward L. Bronstien, Sr., Amos Deinard, Harold D. Field, Sr., Arthur N. and Stanley B. Goodman, Hess Kline, Arthur C. and Maurice L. Melamed, Jay Phillips, Howard J. Seesel, Sr., Nathan C. Shapira and Mack Wolf. To these must be added my dear friend, Louis Melamed, who took an intense interest in this book and guided me with his sage advice. He was taken to his Heavenly Father just as the manuscript went to the printer. In a special way, the book represents a memorial to him.

Last, but not least, the Board of Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation had an abiding appreciation for the importance of historical research and gave me leave to advance these studies toward their conclusion.

To all of these and to the many who must remain unnamed, my deepest thanks are extended.

The first draft of this history was written in the summer of 1956, in the lovely village of Spiez, by the Lake of Thun, in Switzerland. The austere beauty of snow-covered mountains and slopes, whose inhabitants wring a frugal livelihood from an often forbidding environment, was in part reminiscent of the wintry fields and forests which form the face of Minnesota during much of the year. Now, as we reach the end of Minnesota's centennial year of statehood, I put my pen to paper to finish this book. The Jewish community, which saw the birth of the state, may indeed observe this anniversary with a sense of grateful joy.

W. G. P.

St. Paul, Spring 5719-1959

## *Contents*

FOREWORD, BY BERTRAM W. KORN	vii
INTRODUCTION	ix
1 BEGINNINGS	3
2 THE FIRST JEWS	9
3 JACOB JACKSON NOAH	16
4 THE ROARING FIFTIES	22
5 MOUNT ZION	30
6 THESE ARE THE NAMES	39
7 OLD TIES AND NEW BONDS	48
8 SPREADING ROOTS	54
9 A THRIVING LITTLE PLACE	61
10 MEN AND EVENTS	69
11 TWO RABBIS	75
12 THE CHRISTIAN NEIGHBOR	83
13 THE REFUGEES	90
14 PAINTED WOODS	96
15 DEVIL'S LAKE	104
16 THE SECOND COMMUNITY	110
17 THE NEW SYNAGOGUE	115
18 THE LONE TREK	123
19 HEAD OF THE LAKES	132

*THE JEWS IN MINNESOTA*

20	THE HELPING HAND	140
21	WOMEN OF VALOR	147
22	SOCIETY COLUMN	156
23	FOUNTAINS OF KNOWLEDGE	165
24	TEACH THEM DILIGENTLY	170
25	SPIRITUAL JOURNEY – REFORM	181
26	SPIRITUAL JOURNEY – CONSERVATIVE	192
27	SPIRITUAL JOURNEY – ORTHODOX	202
28	THE CAPTAINS	210
29	COMMON GROUND	218
30	THE YOUNG AND THE OLD	225
31	SONS OF THE COVENANT	230
32	LOVE OF ZION	237
33	SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY	243
34	THE RAVAGES OF WAR	249
35	THE LARGER SCENE	252
36	CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE	261
37	ANTI-DEFAMATION	266
38	ANTI-SEMITISM	273
39	THE CURIOUS TWINS	280
40	AFTER THE WAR	291
41	ERA'S END	300
	EPILOGUE	306
	LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	308
	APPENDIXES	309
	GLOSSARY	321



## CONTENTS

SOURCES	322
Manuscript Material	
Cemetery Records	
Public Records	
General References	
Periodicals	
Jewish Organizational Publications (St. Paul and Minneapolis)	
Personal Statements	
INDEX	331



*The Jews in Minnesota*





# 1

## *Beginnings*

EXPLORERS, VOYAGEURS and traders were the first white men to come to Minnesota. Here they found the Sioux and the Chippewa, and here they found a land of captivating beauty. It was hunting and fishing country, with thousands of lakes, with dense forests and open plains in the south; and from the plateau in the north-central region rivers sprang which formed great water routes. From here the mighty Mississippi started its long descent toward the Gulf of Mexico.

The early French travelers were followed by British traders after the end of the French and Indian wars in 1763 brought part of the territory under the English flag. Americans came in turn after 1783 when the land between the Mississippi and Lake Superior fell to the United States. In 1805, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike was sent by the War Department on a mission to explore the source of the Mississippi and to make peace between the Sioux and Chippewa who had carried on a long and destructive fratricidal struggle. Thus the flag of the United States was first raised over Minnesota. Fifteen years later a permanent fort was built on the bluff overlooking the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers. First called Fort St. Anthony (after the falls nearby) and from 1825 on Fort Snelling (after Colonel Josiah Snelling who had directed the building of the fort), the military post became a stimulus for white settlement. Assured of protection by the American flag settlers began to arrive. "As a military outpost on the remote American frontier, Fort Snelling served as the nucleus from which stemmed the settlement of Minnesota and much of the Northwest."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Russell W. Fridley, *A Sketch of Minnesota* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 4.

New trade routes reached north, toward the older Selkirk Colony on the Red River, in Canadian territory, and in the middle thirties Henry H. Sibley came to the area as a representative of the American Fur Company. Trading posts were founded, then missionaries arrived and established stations, and slowly, settlers followed in turn. Dakota (later called Stillwater), Marine, and St. Croix Falls were the early settlements, and the eviction of squatters from the Fort Snelling reservation encouraged the growth of another settlement further west on the Mississippi. Soon this new village flourished, and it became known as St. Paul's Landing and then St. Paul, after the chapel which the Catholic priest, Father Lucian Galtier, had built there. Trappers who came from the Red River country made St. Paul their trading post. At times their caravans — greaseless ox-carts whose ghostly creaking could be heard for miles — would run to a hundred wagons. Trade had begun in earnest. Minnesota was opening up.

Still, there were only some thirty families who in the middle forties made St. Paul their home. Most of them spoke French. New settlers arrived who bore American names, and then, suddenly, St. Paul was an American town on the northwest frontier.<sup>2</sup> It got a post office, though not much mail — in fact, almost none during the winter. In 1847, Harriett Bishop came from the East and opened a school. The town was becoming a river port. It soon outstripped the older Stillwater, twenty miles down the river. A little further upstream, by the falls, the new village of St. Anthony sprang up. Lumbering became an important factor which brought more trade to the area. More settlers came, in rapidly increasing numbers.

In 1848, a land office was opened on the St. Croix river, and this brought a great increase of immigration. A year later, Minnesota became a Territory of the United States. No longer were its people living in an outpost of the Wisconsin Territory, to which they had belonged; now they had status. They had a capital; soon they had politics, newspapers and all the trappings of a full-fledged community. A visitor to St. Paul counted these professionals and craftsmen:

<sup>2</sup> William Watts Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1921), 4 vols.; vol. I, p. 224.



. . . twelve attorneys-at-law, six of whom were practising, five physicians, and a large number of mechanics, of various kinds. There was not a brick or stone building in the place.<sup>3</sup>

He also counted the buildings,

. . . the number of which, including shanties and those in every state of progress, from the foundation wall to completion, was one hundred and forty-two. Of the above, all except a dozen, were probably less than six months old. They included three hotels . . . a state house, four warehouses, ten stores, several groceries, three boarding houses, two printing offices, two dry goods stores, one fruit and tobacco store, one or two blacksmith shops, one wagon shop, one tin shop, one or two baker's shops, one furniture room, a billiard and bowling saloon, one school house, in which a school of about forty children [is] kept by a young lady, and where divine services are performed every Sabbath. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Minnesota attracted settlers in ever larger numbers, and its economy had many aspects of the California rush. The Federal census showed four hundred people in St. Paul in early 1849. Eight weeks later the number had tripled!<sup>5</sup> There were altogether five thousand white people in Minnesota and twenty-five thousand Indians. Those who took a short journey could not recognize it on their return.

A person absent for three weeks . . . almost fancies that he has been taking a Rip Van Winkle slumber.<sup>6</sup>

But all traffic with the outside ceased when winter came to the Northwest. The open plains shivered in the icy grip of the north winds. Twenty and thirty degrees below zero rendered outdoor activity nearly impossible. High snows covered the roads, making even a sled journey an often perilous enterprise. It took three months for news of the presidential election to reach the Territory. Still, the immigrants would not be deterred.\* For there was land to be had, and the country around St. Paul was the

<sup>3</sup> E. S. Seymour, *Sketches of Minnesota, the New England of the West* (New York, 1850), pp. 99-100.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Minnesota Pioneer* [=MP] (St. Paul), July 19, 1849; *St. Paul Directory*, 1858-1859 (*Commercial Advertiser*), p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> MP, May 26, 1849.

\* "Immigrant" was the current name for all new settlers. They were so called even when they were native Americans.

natural focus of a trade area that reached north to the Red River, west to the Rockies, and east to the Great Lakes. City dwellers put up with unaccustomed discomforts. Prospective arrivals were advised by the press to bring along bedding and tents until they could build their own houses. Nothing was for rent, and the demand for homes far outstripped the supply.<sup>7</sup>

Farmers of the United States, of Germany, of the whole world, we want to see you here next spring, with your plows and harrows and cattle and horses. Come one — come all.<sup>8</sup>

Minnesota needed and wanted specific skills:

Farmers, mechanics, lawyers that are not vampyres, . . . ministers . . . who shall not be afraid of work, . . . and young ladies old enough to be mothers, but not too old.<sup>9</sup>

The territory claimed to be ideal for invalids in search of health. Its invigorating climate was such as to attract young and old — in fact, the old were said not to age as in other parts of the earth. As late as 1882, a Jewish paper published in Europe reported admiringly from St. Paul that a certain Maria Graam, aged eighty-five, had given birth to a boy who was “robust and in fine condition.”<sup>10</sup> The Paris Exposition proclaimed St. Paul the healthiest city of its class in the whole world, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition also awarded it the first prize. St. Paul and Minneapolis had a lower death rate than most other cities.

When, in 1854, the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad demonstrated its readiness to supply transportation for the area, immigration changed from a flood into a veritable torrent. The next spring, the packet boat *War Eagle* brought 814 passengers in a single trip. On another day, seven boats arrived, each with two to six hundred passengers. In all, there were thirty thousand immigrants who came that season.<sup>11</sup> Most of them came from the middle Atlantic states. New York furnished the largest number, but the Middle Western and New England states were also

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, April 28, 1849.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1849.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, June 26, 1850, quoting the *St. Anthony Express*.

<sup>10</sup> *Mosé*, (published in Corfu, Greece, from 1878 to 1885), vol. V (May, 1882), p. 173.

<sup>11</sup> J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of St. Paul* (St. Paul, 1876), p. 357; W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 359.

strongly represented. Few, however, hailed from the South. The climatic adjustment was evidently too difficult.<sup>12</sup> More and more foreign-born settlers arrived. In 1849, stores had still borne the sign "On parle français"; ten years later, one would read instead "Norske Handel" or "Deutsche Handlung."<sup>13</sup> Said the paper:

Society in Minnesota is composed of persons of all kinds and conditions, who have located here from the four quarters of the earth. All may find congenial associates from the upper-ten to the subterranean. Every color may be seen from the Ethiopian to the Circassian. Every tongue is spoken. . . .<sup>14</sup>

To an inquiry about Minnesota, and specifically to the question "What is the population of St. Paul?" editor James Goodhue replied in 1851:

Yankee, Western, Southern, Irish, German, French, and a little shade of the Indian and African, just enough to tinge the complexion of St. Paul . . . we have also a sprinkling of Jews and a few Scotchmen and Englishmen. . . .<sup>15</sup>

A few weeks earlier Goodhue had taken exception to a visitor's statement that spiritual necessities were amply provided for in the Territory.

We want a good Unitarian church, and respectfully solicit aid from the Bostonians in building one. A synagogue will also be needed; but that must be left to the liberality of Chatham Street.<sup>16</sup>

Goodhue died shortly thereafter, before his prophecy was fulfilled; but Chatham Street was neither needed nor called upon. The Jews of Minnesota, who had come with the tide of pioneers, were quite capable of taking care of themselves.

<sup>12</sup> W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 360.

<sup>13</sup> J. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

<sup>14</sup> *MP*, April 13, 1854.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1851.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1851. "Chatham Street" was probably meant to stand for the Jews of England whose reputation was high following their intervention in the Damascus affair; see Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews of England* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 254 ff.



## *The First Jews*

IF BEING a Jew is difficult of definition in an established Jewish community, it is even more difficult in the pre-community stage. Should we include only those who in later years identified themselves with the Jewish group? Should we exclude those who had only marginal or no identification as Jews, but who were so considered by their environment?

While in fully settled communities the totally assimilated Jew and the convert from Judaism add little to the fate of their Jewish brethren, this is not true for a society in the stage of formation. The very fact that their neighbors considered certain people to be "Jews by birth," or of the "Jewish nation" or "race," or simply Jews as such, included them automatically in the Jewish group. Thus a pioneer "Jew," even though his loyalty to Judaism was non-existent, had some part in the nascent Jewish story. For he helped to shape the environment's attitude toward the Jew. If he had prestige, other Jews partook of it; if he was disdained, they were likely to suffer with him.

This was especially the case in early Minnesota. When the first few white settlers came, men who were known as Jews were amongst them. For some of these, this brief interlude of conspicuousness was their total contribution to the Jewish cause; for others, it was only the beginning of a long association. But all of these early Jewish settlers had this in common: they helped to mold the pattern of a community which was as yet fluid. They did not, as in so many other states, arrive at a later stage when a certain rigidity had begun to confine the society into which they entered.

We know, of course, only of those who achieved some sort of prominence or left some trace of their activity, and who with

some assurance can be identified as "Jews." Nathan Spicer, the watchmaker of early St. Paul, Jacob Fink, and Abraham Greenwald might today, because of their names, lead us to catalogue them as Jews. None of these was a Jew, nor was Isaac Rose, after whom Rose Township was named. At one time it was believed that an early Minnesota legislator, one Jacob Abraham, was Jewish.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, there was an Abraham who served for Hennepin County in the second legislature. He was a farmer who had come from Pennsylvania; but his name was Jonathan and not Jacob, and he was a trustee of the Baptist Church.<sup>2</sup>

But even during the forties there were pioneers in Minnesota who were Jews. These first Jews were as dissimilar in personality, fortune, character and purpose as human beings could be; yet their Jewish background unites them into the pages of history.

Three brothers Samuel, English Jews, were known to have lived in Taylors Falls, at the edge of the Territory.<sup>3</sup> Of one of them, we have some information.

Maurice Mordecai Samuel was his name, and he was born in London, of Jewish parents, but he was not known to have made much of his Jewish background. William H. C. Folsom, Minnesota's early legislator and historian, met him first in 1844 in Prairie du Chien. Samuel was then a travelling peddler and two years later went into Chippewa country, took an Indian woman to wife and reared a family with her at St. Croix Falls. Here he ran a "ball" alley (as bowling alleys were then known) and a trading post and was known far and wide. Some suspected him of

<sup>1</sup> Bernard Postal and Lionel Koppman, *A Jewish Tourist Guide to the U. S.* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 225, copying the erroneous information in *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* [=UJE] (New York, 1939-1943), 10 vols., vol. VII, p. 572.

<sup>2</sup> John H. Stevens, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People* (Minneapolis, 1890) p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Jewish Encyclopedia* [=JE] (New York and London, 1901-1906) 12 vols., vol. VII, pp. 599-600 (Samuel N. Deinard); Paul Masserman and Max Baker, *The Jews Come to America* (New York, 1932), pp. 141 and 162. These and subsequent references spell the name Samuels, but Maurice M. Samuel's war record has the name as spelled in the text. The latter is to be preferred. Masserman and Baker are secondary sources and must be used with caution.

There is some speculation that Ezekiel Solomon, the Michigan fur trader whose interests ranged far north and west, may have been in the area in the 1770's; see Irving Katz, "Ezekiel Solomon: The First Jew in Michigan," *Michigan History*, vol. XXXII, no. 3 (Sept., 1948), pp. 247-256. However, we are concerned here with the genesis of the Jewish community as a continuing social factor, and Solomon would not be relevant in this context.

trading whiskey to the Indians, but he also was widely respected for his courage and for the trust he enjoyed with the red man.<sup>4</sup> In 1861, when the Civil War broke out, he raised a company, the St. Croix Rifles, became its captain and served until the latter days of the war.<sup>5</sup>

The government took advantage of his special contacts and, during the Sioux outbreak in 1862, appointed him agent to the Chippewa in the St. Croix valley and on the south shore of Lake Superior. He was to sound out Indian sentiment and evidently did his job well. By this time everyone knew him as Captain Samuel. After the war he moved to New Orleans, and later to Winfield, Kansas, where he died in 1884.<sup>6</sup> Whatever his reputation in morality and business may have been, his patriotism and his record as a soldier were beyond criticism. There is little doubt that much was forgiven him in the rough-and-tumble wilderness in which he first made his way. The frontiersman, the captain whom they called a Jew, more than held his own with his contemporaries.

Three other brothers had settled in Minnesota by 1850, and are found on what J. Fletcher Williams called St. Paul's "Battle Abbey Roll," the roster of those who settled before the city was incorporated.<sup>7</sup> Their name was Elfelt, and they hailed from Pennsylvania. Their parents had been old settlers in San Domingo, but when the Negro republic was established there in 1801 they had come to the States. Here three sons, Edwin, Abram and Charles were born.<sup>8</sup> All three eventually came to pioneer in Minnesota.

<sup>4</sup> William H. C. Folsom, *Fifty Years in the Northwest* (St. Paul, 1888), pp. 109-110, (who also spells the name Samuels) calls him "shrewd," "no dissembler—however unprincipled he may have been."

<sup>5</sup> Samuel served with Co. F., First Regiment Infantry, Wisconsin Volunteers. He enlisted May 28, 1861, was commissioned Captain on June 29th, and was mustered out Oct. 13, 1864. He was married at the time of his enlistment (Certificate of Service, State of Wisconsin, issued July 24, 1958).

<sup>6</sup> W. H. C. Folsom, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> J. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>8</sup> Edwin (whom Cristopher Columbus Andrews, *History of St. Paul, Minnesota*, [Syracuse, 1890], vol. II, p. 82, mistakenly calls Louis) was born in 1823; Abram on March 10, 1827; Charles on Aug. 29, 1828, in Millerstown, Pa. Other information about the Elfelts is found in W. H. C. Folsom, *op. cit.*, pp. 564-565; Thomas M. Newsom, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul* (St. Paul, 1886), p. 194; *Minnesota Biographies* [=MB] (*Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, vol. XIV, St. Paul, 1912), p. 203; St. Croix Valley Old Settlers Association, *Obituary Record*, p. 267; Federal Census 1850 (Ramsey County, no. 220); Records of B'nai B'rith



Charles came first, in 1849, when he was twenty-one years old, and was followed by his brothers the next year. The Elfelts brought a little capital with them: the younger boys had two hundred dollars each, and the oldest three hundred and fifty dollars. They established a store in St. Paul at the foot of Eagle Street near the Upper Levee, which was among the earliest to specialize in dry goods. In a way their business indicated the transition from the early general store of the frontier village to the urban diversification of trade. They were to be pioneers in other ways also.

Charles had a flair for the dramatic and took part in amateur theatricals. It was no doubt due to his urging that the other two proud owners of "Elfelt Brothers" joined him in investing in the building of St. Paul's first theater. It stood at Third and Exchange Streets and for years was the city's largest building. Of Edwin we know little—perhaps because in the course of time the middle brother, Abram, attracted all attention to himself.

Abram's sharply edged features still speak to us across the years. His was a kindly face with a prominent nose. The fine steel engraving we have of him shows us an active man of his time. He was aware of the need for better business organization in his town and originated the Board of Trade in St. Paul. Later, when this institution merged with the Chamber of Commerce, he sat on its first Board of Directors. "Public spirited and enterprising," a contemporary called him, a man who "always took great interest in the welfare of the city."<sup>9</sup> His interests ranged into the

---

(personal communication from District Grand Lodge No. 6, Chicago). As early as 1857 a St. Paul street was named Elfelt Street. A picture of Abram Elfelt is found in Andrews, *op. cit.*, vol. II, facing p. 82. A daguerreotype of Charles D. Elfelt's clothing store is reproduced in Bertha L. Heilbron, *The Thirty-Second State, A Pictorial History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1958), p. 100.

Rabbi Arthur Chiel, "Manitoba Jewish History:—Early Times," in *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, series III (1955) no. 10, pp. 14–29, speaks of "A Mr. Kovitz (likely a shortened form of the name Berkovitz), a fur merchant from St. Paul" (p. 25). There is, however, nothing in the history of C. J. Kovitz to support the assumption that he was Jewish. For further details on him see Newsom, *op. cit.*, p. 727; *The Nor'-Wester*, June 14, 1860 and Feb. 1, 1861 (Kovitz advertisements).

Similarly, the name Fonseka (or Fonseca) which appears on early St. Paul rosters evokes Jewish memories. But, while a Jewish background is more likely in this case, the connection was very remote and played no role in the Minnesota story. Information on William Gomer Fonseca was furnished by Rabbi Arthur Chiel (then in Winnipeg).

<sup>9</sup> W. H. C. Folsom, *op. cit.*, pp. 564–565.

cultural; he was a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The Elfelts were the first Jews to settle permanently in St. Paul. But six years later, when there were enough other Jews to form a congregation, none of the three brothers chose to become part of it. However, while Edwin and Charles apparently never were identified with Jewish life, Abram was. Twenty years after he had settled in Minnesota, he joined his fellow Jews in establishing a B'nai B'rith lodge. This was an expression of his Jewishness which was evidently more in keeping with his personal habits and convictions than was religious affiliation. Since he was a civic figure and a prominent business man, his active help to the fledgling lodge was a great boon to it. He agreed to take the vice-presidency in its founding year, in 1871. The following year he succeeded to the chair and in 1874 attended the Convention of the Grand Lodge.

Then we lose sight of him. He had married a Sue Fryer from Philadelphia. His children intermarried, and he himself died without Jewish custom accompanying him on his last journey.<sup>10</sup> He was sixty-one years old at the time of his death. Charles outlived him by eleven years; no knowledge is had of Edwin's latter days.

When Abram Elfelt became Vice-President of the new Minnesota Lodge No. 157, B'nai B'rith, his fellow officer and treasurer was a man by the name of Julius Austrian. The two had known each other for many years, for while Austrian did not come to St. Paul until after the Civil War he, too, had been in the Territory when it was still part of Wisconsin.

Austrian was one of five brothers. In the old country, their name had been Oesterreicher or Oestreicher. Julius must have had an adequate Jewish education, for he could write Hebrew with a sure hand<sup>11</sup> and had deep and definite religious convic-

<sup>10</sup> He died on April 4, 1888, and was buried on a Saturday; *Pioneer Press* [=SPPP] (St. Paul), April 5, p. 5; the information in W. H. C. Folsom, *op. cit.*, p. 565, which states that he died in February, is erroneous. There is some confusion about Abram's middle initial, perhaps because of the way he wrote the "S." Some have it as L. and others as G. Also, on occasion the last name was spelled Elfeld. At one time he was associated in business with Nathan Bernheimer.

<sup>11</sup> Austrian kept the Mt. Zion cemetery record (in Mount Zion Archives) [=MZA], which attests his competent Hebrew writing.

tions. In the late forties he, his brother Marx, and Lewis Leopold had gone up to LaPointe, Wisconsin, on Lake Superior, where they were among the first white settlers. As early as 1855, they held Holy Day services in this outpost of civilization.<sup>12</sup>

In 1849, Julius had married his partner's sister, Hannah Leopold, a girl who was then not quite nineteen years old.<sup>13</sup> Their business prospered; stores were established on the northernmost part of Michigan's Upper Peninsula: in Eagle River, Eagle Harbor, Cliff Mine, Calumet and Hancock, where their store and warehouse were located.

The Austrians and Leopolds traded throughout the area and soon extended their contacts into Minnesota. Even during the summer, it was quite a journey to St. Paul, but only the hardest person would gather enough courage to make it during the winter. No wonder, therefore, when Julius Austrian dared it in January, 1851, the press recorded that his arrival "excited much curiosity in our town." He came with another person from Lake Superior via the Falls of St. Croix. Their mode of transportation was the northern dog-train. In their two sleds they brought several hundred pounds of freight for trading.<sup>14</sup>

Austrian soon became a land owner in Minnesota. He acquired mineral rights at Lake Superior on a site where later the city of Duluth was built. In the late sixties, he and his brother Marx moved to St. Paul where Julius and Hannah at once became two of the leading Jewish citizens. For they soon proved their strong Jewish loyalties and unusual leadership qualities.

When they came to St. Paul, the Civil War was over, and whatever little Jewish institutional life there had been in Minnesota was left in very poor circumstances. The two Austrians were soon engaged in building up the congregation. They helped to find the means for erecting the young state's first synagogue. Hannah founded its first women's group and headed it in its work for the

<sup>12</sup> Irving Katz, *The Beth El Story* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1955), pp. 53-54. The Leopolds had also changed their name. They were from Baden in Germany where they were called Freudenthaler. The Austrians did not come from Austria, but from Wittelshofen, Bavaria (see Marx Austrian's tombstone in Mt. Zion Cemetery, St. Paul).

<sup>13</sup> She was born Feb. 2, 1830; see *American Israelite* [=AI] (published in Cincinnati from 1854 on, and known until 1874 as the *Israelite*), Feb. 8, 1900; *St. Paul Globe* [=SPG], Feb. 3, 1897.

<sup>14</sup> MP, Jan. 30, 1851. The name is misspelled and here appears as Austman.



Temple and in its increasingly ambitious welfare and social enterprises until after the turn of the century. Under her presidency Mount Zion's women founded the St. Paul Neighborhood House. In 1897, she was feted lavishly on her twenty-fifth anniversary as president of the Temple auxiliary. She was a stocky woman, large like her husband, and the authority of her leadership was coupled with a wonderful sense of humor. She died in ripe old age in Chicago, where she had gone to live with her daughter, who had married Amiel Hart. Hannah's passing was noted with great sorrow in her old community to which she had given so much.<sup>15</sup>

The Austrians were moderate in their outlook; they were Reformers, but of the evolutionary kind. Julius was, until his death in 1891, a mainstay of Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation. More retiring than his wife, he preferred a trusteeship or vice-presidency to the chair itself. He was responsible for bringing Leopold Wintner as the first ordained Rabbi to Minnesota; for when his fellow members were fearful of committing themselves to a contract he personally agreed to underwrite it.<sup>16</sup> His special concern was the cemetery of Mount Zion, the first Jewish burial ground in the state. He kept its records in English and Hebrew, and some of the social background of the earlier days can be read in his private obituary notes.

His brother Marx (more often he was known as Max) was blind from early youth on. Still he pioneered with the rest of the family, and the Indians at Lake Superior loved the handicapped white man. In St. Paul, whither he removed with Julius and Hannah in 1869, he was known as a man of dignity and piety. For many years he blew the *shofar* at Mt. Zion's Holy Day services. He outlived Julius by twelve years.

<sup>15</sup> The information on the Austrians is spread over many sources, notably the Minutes of Mount Zion Temple [=MZM], from 1869 on, *passim*; the Minutes of the Mount Zion Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society, *passim*; the Minutes of the Ladies Sewing Society, *passim*; and many notices in AI. A picture of Hannah Austrian and an account of her twenty-fifth anniversary party as President of the Benevolent Society appeared in SPG, Feb. 3, 1897. See also W. Gunther Plaut, *Mount Zion, 1856-1956* (St. Paul, 1956), *passim*; her picture is found facing p. 53. On Marx Austrian, see AI, Dec. 24, 1903. His wife, Caroline Willner from Schweising, Austria, died in 1910, at the age of ninety (see her tombstone in Mt. Zion Cemetery, St. Paul).

<sup>16</sup> See *infra*, chapter 10, p. 69.

Another Jew who pioneered in various parts of Minnesota during the forties was Isaac Marks. He had come from East Prussia where he was born on January 22, 1823. He was seventeen years old when he came to the States and twenty-three when he made the trek to the Northwest. Leaving comfortable St. Louis, he arrived in 1846 in Prairie du Chien and from there went to LaCrosse. The spring of 1848 found him in Long Prairie in Todd County where he established the first trading house at the Winnebago Agency. It was a far outpost of civilization, but even so Marks was not yet finished pioneering. When the Agency moved on, he followed it to Blue Earth County and there too his was the first trading post. Not until 1856 did he settle in urban surroundings. From then until his death (which occurred on his sixty-second birthday) he lived in Mankato. He had a successful store, showing the sizable capital of eight thousand dollars in 1860. He was married in 1862 to Anna Schoffman in a most unusual ceremony, for everyone present was armed. It was the time of the Sioux riots, and people were careful.

Marks was in the first Masonic class to be inducted into the Mankato lodge. "Generous and public-spirited" he was called. While he was known as a Jew, his years of pioneering left him apparently with little traditional sentiment. His fate was much like Samuel's, for beyond their origin these two men carried nothing of their background into their public life. Unlike Austrian and Elfelt they made no further impress on the fate of Minnesota Jewry.<sup>17</sup>

There was one other early Jewish settler who came to live in Minnesota before 1850. He was Jacob Jackson Noah, and his name, adorned by Esq., would be before the public for over a decade.

<sup>17</sup> MB, p. 488; *Mankato; Its First Fifty Years* (Mankato, 1903), p. 271. See also Federal Census, (Manuscript Roll, Minnesota Historical Society) [=Census], 1860, which states that he had four children at that time. Anna Schoffman may have been his second wife and may have brought children into the marriage. At any rate, this union had no issue.

## *Jacob Jackson Noah*

ST. PAULITES read this bit of news on a fall day in 1851:

Jacob J. Noah, Esq., of St. Paul will deliver during the following winter a discourse upon the "Political, Social, and Prospective Condition of the Jews Throughout the World." This subject is one of great interest and importance, and the intelligent community of St. Paul will find much information in a lecture of this kind from the knowledge Mr. Noah undoubtedly possesses. We look forward to it with great interest.<sup>1</sup>

Jacob Noah was well known to them; they had just elected him Justice of the Peace,<sup>2</sup> after the Peoples Convention (the so-called "Grand Rally of the People" which he had served as Secretary) had nominated him for this promising first step in politics.<sup>3</sup> Young Noah was just turning twenty-one, and already he had made his mark in the city.

To be sure, the census taker took him to be a little older; but possibly the man had not listed him correctly, or perhaps Noah looked a little older—at any rate, his age did not make much difference, for all the leaders were young people: Governor Alexander Ramsey was thirty-five, and the future Senator Henry Rice was already a successful businessman and only thirty-three years old.<sup>4</sup>

Even if people were not sure about Noah's age, they probably knew about his background, for his father was among America's best known Jews: the redoubtable Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, former United States Consul in Tunis, literateur, and pre-Zionist dreamer. A newspaper featured one of the many anecdotes cur-

<sup>1</sup> *MP*, Nov. 27, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> On Oct. 14, 1851, he received 236 votes, 25 more than his opponent, "Old Liner" Charles Creek (*Williams, op. cit.*, p. 317).

<sup>3</sup> *MP*, Sept. 25, 1851.

<sup>4</sup> 1850 Census. Noah is listed as No. 134.



rent about the father<sup>5</sup> and, early in 1851, reproduced one of his letters, in which he, on behalf of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, had expressed thanks for a generous donation. Involved were \$200.00 which had come to the society from a Jenny Lind concert. Said the *Pioneer*:

The tone and language of Major Noah's letter of acknowledgment . . . strikingly evinces the kind and brotherly feeling which a well-timed remembrance may produce, and contrasts so vividly with the bitter hostility which, even within the last century, has been exhibited towards Jews, that they may well regard it as the herald of a yet brighter day.<sup>6</sup>

Everyone was aware that young Noah was the Major's son, and soon, especially after his father died, Minnesotans referred to Jacob also as "Major." A contemporary artist, depicting the noteworthy places in St. Paul, did not fail to include "Major" Noah's office: a simple one story, one or two room log cabin.

J. J. Noah, as he signed himself, was born on October 6, 1830, in New York. He was his parents' second child, born to a line of colonists who had belonged to the early settlers of Georgia.<sup>7</sup> So perhaps he surprised no one when, barely out of school, he packed up and went west. He journeyed with another New Yorker, a young and capable cartographer, named George C. Nichols, with whom he roomed.<sup>8</sup> He had come to St. Paul in 1849, and it is likely that the lad apprenticed himself in law to either Henry Sibley (with whom he practiced later on) or Alexander Ramsey, with whom he struck up a life-long friendship. In the summer of 1851, Noah was ready to hang out his shingle and he placed his first advertisement in the paper.

JACOB J. NOAH

Attorney at Law and Solicitor in Chancery

Commissioner for states of Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New

<sup>5</sup> *MP*, April 1, 1852.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1851.

<sup>7</sup> For personal data on his life see Washington (D. C.) *Post*, Oct. 15, 1897; St. Paul *Dispatch* [=SPD], Oct. 14, 1897; *MB*, p. 550; Isaac Goldberg, *Major Noah—American Jewish Pioneer* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 263. Genealogical information was compiled by Rabbi Malcolm Stern of Norfolk, Virginia, and kindly supplied by him. See also Census, 1850 (no. 134); 1857 (no. 66) and 1860 (Ramsey County, no. 251). The 1857 census was also conducted by the Federal Government, prior to Minnesota's admission to statehood.

<sup>8</sup> Nichols made the first map of St. Paul. He died at age twenty-six, in Madison (J. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 316).

York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Alabama, Ohio and Louisiana. All instruments to be used and recorded in any of the above states, may be taken at my office in St. Paul.<sup>9</sup>

If he was to make his way, professionally and politically, he would have to make it as a Jew, a son of his famous father. He prepared his ambitious lecture about the Jews and set it for December 11th. Whether the weather interfered or whether the hall was at the last moment deemed inappropriate we do not know; but the paper announced, as an item of importance:

We are informed that the lecture of Jacob J. Noah, Esq., on the character and the habits of the Jews, ancient and modern, which was to have been delivered at the lower school-house, this evening, has been deferred. It will be delivered before the Young Men's Lyceum, at the M. E. Church, tomorrow (Friday) evening, at 7 o'clock. As this is a subject which is new to most audiences, and from the well-known qualifications of the lecturer, we may confidently predict that the public will be both instructed and entertained.<sup>10</sup>

The lecture took place and was duly reported.

The speaker, son of the lamented Major Noah, of N. Y., a Jew by birth, not only showed himself familiar with his subject, but entered into it with an ardent zeal, such as no one could equally have manifested, but one of the children of Israel.

The son of Israel touched on many things. He delivered an apologia for the presumed severity of Mosaic law; he explained marriage and funeral rites as well as dietary laws. Then he came to the modern position of the Jews, "the great feature" of the lecture. Noah, the paper said, spoke about

the immense influence wielded by them over European affairs in a secret and sub-rosa manner.

This, at any rate, was what the reporter understood. It was meant as a compliment, stressing the advance which Jews had made despite the oppression they still suffered. The discourse ended with a tribute to America: here, and here alone were Jews free. Should there come the time "when the inheritance of Judaism was restored," Noah hoped that

<sup>9</sup> *MP*, July 31, 1851.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1851.

they would choose a republican form of government, a prototype of that of the United States of America.<sup>11</sup>

The inheritance of Judaism to which the speaker made reference, was apparently not part of his own life. Beyond this one time, no further association with things Jewish is recorded of him. Yet, at the outset of his illustrious career he was content to be known by his origin; and in this way he made his contribution to both his adopted state and to the burgeoning Jewish community of which he was counted a member.

Sometime during the fifties he married a Louisiana girl, Eliza, who, in 1857, bore him a son whom they named Horace M.—the M., no doubt, for Jacob's father. The young lawyer had already made a spectacular success. At the age of twenty-one he had been chosen the city's "Orator of the Day" for the Independence Day celebration;<sup>12</sup> the next year he had been appointed Clerk of the District Court of Dakota County (he had moved to Mendota). "The appointment meets with general satisfaction," the press had commented.<sup>13</sup> When, in the company of General Henry Sibley, he returned to St. Paul from a business trip, the press took note of this also.<sup>14</sup>

Election time came, and he was chosen chairman of the Dakota County Democratic Convention.<sup>15</sup> Noah was twenty-four years old then and he had already had his share of politics. But more was to come.

Minnesota was preparing for statehood; the Constitutional Convention was chosen and met. Noah represented Mendota. There was a split between the parties, and they worked separately on the constitutional document. Noah was elected Secretary of the Democratic faction, a responsible position for so young a man. When the debates were over, the Constitution adopted and ready, a flowing hand attested it and wrote it into history, for all to read: J. J. Noah.

Now there were state offices to be had. Noah's party turned

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1851.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1, 1852.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, June 22, 1853.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1854. The same notice also makes reference to Abram Elfelt.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1854.



him down for District Court Clerk.<sup>16</sup> They readily approved him, however, as a candidate for Clerk of the Supreme Court:

Jacob J. Noah, the candidate for Clerk of the Supreme Court, has had experience in the line of his duties and will make an accurate and faithful officer.<sup>17</sup>

The people agreed. He defeated his Republican opponent by a margin of more than two to one and ran well ahead of the party ticket.<sup>18</sup> He was the Court's first Clerk and served until 1861.<sup>19</sup>

By the time he had become thirty years old he had made his mark. The value of his real estate alone was estimated at thirty thousand dollars. He had four servants and a nurse. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that he belonged to the leading citizens of the state and that the future held even greater things in store for him.

Then came the war. Noah was commissioned a Captain on August 19, 1861; his company was "K" in the second Regiment. He recruited for it and mustered in at Fort Snelling. Soon he and his men were gone; next they were heard of at the Mill Spring campaign where there was hand-to-hand combat.

This is where the fighting ended for Captain Noah. He was suffering from a minor but painful ailment. "It utterly unfits me for any active duty whatever; besides making me very miserable in health and spirit," he wrote requesting the acceptance of his resignation. In midyear he was discharged, all treatment having failed.<sup>20</sup>

However, he stayed close to events. The pioneering spirit had not left him and he clearly saw that after the war the South would offer great reward to the enterprising. So he bade farewell to Minnesota. Perhaps his Southern wife had long urged him to leave for milder climes. Tennessee beckoned him and he went to carpet-bag there. For a while he was one of the special Attorney Generals and chancellors of the state; he fought a famous gov-

<sup>16</sup> *Daily Minnesotan*, [=DM] Sept. 15, 1857.

<sup>17</sup> *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, [=DPD] Sept. 19, 1857.

<sup>18</sup> His opponent was A. B. Russell, DM, Oct. 17, 1857.

<sup>19</sup> State of Minnesota, *Legislative Manual* [=LM], 1901, p. 97.

<sup>20</sup> National Archives, Volunteer Service File 7483 v. s. 1886—Jacob J. Noah; (various papers relating to his service); *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865*, (St. Paul, 1891-1899), vol. I, p. 144.

ernment case successfully and was rewarded with an appointment to Washington.<sup>21</sup>

Judge Charles E. Flandrau had known him well during his St. Paul sojourn. "Mr. Noah is a remarkable man in many ways," he once said of him.

He is an excellent musician, speaks French like a Parisian, is a competent art critic, a fair essayist on almost any subject, more at home on polemic theology than most priests, a very good lawyer, a capital actor, and, in a word, an accomplished gentleman.<sup>22</sup>

He had spent a dozen years in Minnesota, and in his own way had made his contribution also to the fledgling Jewish community.

<sup>21</sup> The case concerned a certain Judge Thomas Frazier who was accused of obstructing the new laws which had grown out of the Fourteenth Amendment and had been promulgated in Tennessee under the influence of a Reconstructionist legislature. Noah opened the case for the state and tried carefully to separate it from all personal animadversions: "It is for the morality of the people, and not for revenge upon the subject," he said in a humane, but closely reasoned argument. The trial drew much attention as a test case. See *Proceedings of the High Court of Impeachment, etc.* (Nashville: S. C. Mercer, 1867), Appendix, pp. 133-140.

<sup>22</sup> Charles E. Flandrau, "The Bench and Bar of Ramsey County, Minnesota," in *Magazine of Western History*, vol. VIII, no. 1 (May, 1888), p. 66.

In Washington, Noah took up his father's old trade and became a journalist, representing some of the most influential papers around the country. Then Alexander Ramsey who was his old friend from Minnesota days became Secretary of War in the Rutherford B. Hayes administration. He persuaded Noah to enter his department. Whenever Ramsey was away from the city, Noah was by presidential order designated as Acting Secretary of War. His last years were spent as a member of the Board of Pension Appeals. Active in veterans organizations he was no longer, as in Minnesota days, known as "Major." Now it was "Judge" Noah to whom the papers devoted extensive eulogies when he died, sixty-seven years old, on Oct. 13, 1897, at his residence in Q Street. His first-born son Horace had died; perhaps his wife also. He had married again and left four children. His funeral suggests that he had left the faith of his fathers. An Episcopal clergyman was in charge, but whether it was by Noah's own wishes or those of his family, we do not know. There is some question about his offspring. The *Washington Post*, Oct. 15, 1897, said that he had three daughters and one son; *SPD*, Oct. 14, 1897, only knew of three children. Rabbi Malcolm Stern (in private communication) lists one daughter, Carrie, and two sons, William and John, by Noah's first wife; and one daughter, Beatrice, by his second.

## *The Roaring Fifties*

THE NOAHS, Elfelts and Austrians began their careers in the Territory just as it entered on its explosive stage of expansion. An onrush of immigration opened the fifties and continued for several years. Its result was a precipitous boom. Minnesota was boom land, perhaps more so than any other Western state.<sup>1</sup> Speculation was rife. Land prices went spiraling up, money was scarce and could be had only at 36 percent a year. Hotels were overflowing; stores could not replenish their stocks fast enough. Everyone was getting rich and every one was in debt.

St. Paul which had counted about one thousand inhabitants at the half-century mark, had almost five times that many five years later and over twelve thousand on the eve of statehood, in 1857. The Territory's population itself had swelled to upward of fifty thousand.<sup>2</sup> Then, suddenly, the economic bubble burst. On August 24th, the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company failed, and the nation-wide repercussions were felt with trebled violence in Minnesota, and especially in St. Paul. The city's fictitious values evaporated; the rich were poor overnight, and almost all businesses closed. City lots became valueless. Despair ranged where yesterday there was exhilarated optimism. Within the year fully half of St. Paul's citizens moved away! Not until after the Civil War did city and state fully recover from the panic.<sup>3</sup>

Personal comfort counted for little in these hectic times. Coaches and boats during the summer and sleds during the deep winter were the only means of contact with the outside world. Winters were hard. Amelia Ullmann was one of the Jewish set-

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330; W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 364.



tlers at this time, and in her memoirs written some years later she recalled the rigors of climate and frontier life:

Buffalo hides were plentiful and not costly; and men and women wrapped themselves up in the garments made from them whenever they went out of their houses. Every day we were told of persons maimed for life or even killed by the vigor of the climate . . . the melting snows of Spring often solved the mystery of sudden disappearance in the dead of winter by disclosing a team and driver caught in the cold embraces of a snow drift and left there to perish.<sup>4</sup>

People were thrown upon their own resources. The long winters brought out what social and intellectual talent there was among the inhabitants. They read a good deal—when books were to be had—and vicariously

lived in the warmth of the sunshine or in the bustle of a great city while the wind howled and the snow drifted in blinding clouds over our buried settlement in the far Northwest.<sup>5</sup>

There was some social life: a few private parties, balls at the Market House or some other hall; there were amateur theatricals, which Charles Elfelt stimulated; there were sleighing parties when the weather permitted. Not until the river opened up again in the spring and the steamer *War Eagle* finally put into port to herald the end of winter, did the people have their first fresh meat in six months and their first taste of many things they had done without. Meanwhile, everyone belonged to one great family, bound together by common need.

Even so, of course, there were divisions and cliques, and the *Pioneer* complained bitterly about them.<sup>6</sup> There were “the best families” in whose company the Ullmanns, Elfelts and Noahs moved. There were Masonic and political groups, literary and church circles. The Jews who now arrived in larger numbers found themselves nowhere excluded as Jews. Everyone was welcome to make his contribution to the milieu in which either by habit, background or choice he moved.

<sup>4</sup> Amelia Ullmann, in *Minnesota History* [=MH], vol. XXXIII, no. 5 (Spring, 1953), p. 198. For a more extensive reprint of this portion of her memoirs, see Jacob Rader Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews*, vol. II, pp. 351–375. Amelia graphically portrays her arrival in Minnesota as well as her housewifely tribulations in those pioneering days.

<sup>5</sup> Ullmann, in *MH*, loc. cit., p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> *MP*, July 26, 1849.

To be sure, even Jacob J. Noah's lecture could not, at one stroke, supply the community with a new picture of the Jew. Minnesotans had come from many countries, and while their knowledge of Jews and Judaism varied it was usually poor or non-existent. There were the old misconceptions current throughout Europe, but these seldom affected the bustling frontier which spread a blanket of equality over all its adventuresome children. Aggressiveness, a characteristic so often ascribed to the Jew in later years, was rather an asset in those days and went under the admired heading of "Yankee enterprise."<sup>7</sup> Goodhue's side remark made reference to the common belief that Jews reacted quickly and strongly:

We are no Jew, but a Gentile; or the rooting nation under our editorial sanctum instead of a respectful notice with our pen, would get punched with a sharp stick.<sup>8</sup>

People wanted to know about the Jews. The High Holy Days and their ritual were described in detail in an 1854 paper, even though there were as yet no synagogue services in Minnesota. John Warren, a prominent lawyer, who was later to become Mayor of St. Paul, read or at least advertised in the *Occident*, Isaac Leeser's conservative Jewish weekly published in Philadelphia.<sup>9</sup>

Whatever inter-group tension existed was certainly not directed against Jews. The *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* and its anti-Catholic, free-thinking editor, Samuel Ludvigh, came strongly to the

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, July 19, 1849.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, June 28, 1849.

<sup>9</sup> See *Occident*, [=Occ] vol. XVII, p. 1A, col. 3 (Aug. 25, 1859). He is listed as J. E. Warren. This could not have been the J. E. Warren who came to St. Paul from New Hampshire in 1857; for it was unlikely for an eighteen-year-old lad to subscribe to the *Occ*. It is more likely that it was John Esaias Warren, who was James Beach Wakefield's law partner in 1852, Mayor of St. Paul in 1863, and U.S. District Attorney thereafter. There was much speculation about his background. He had been born in Troy, N. Y., had travelled extensively abroad, and came apparently from a well-established family. His father had invested in Minnesota real estate, which allowed John to lead a life of comparative ease and esthetic pursuits. In later years he moved to Chicago and then went to live abroad. His home was a place of great attraction, but somehow always had an aura of mystery. It has, however, not been suggested that Warren was of Jewish origin; and beyond the dilettante student's interest in Jewish affairs there is nothing specific to support such a supposition. See Minnesota Historical Society [=MHS], Scrap Book, vol. VI, p. 111; *Collections of the MHS*, vol. VIII, pp. 96, 532. Incidentally, the *Occ*, estimating Jewish populations at that time (July 6, 1859), gave 1,000 Jews for Wisconsin, but did not know of any Jews in Minnesota.

defense of the Jewish side in the famed Mortara affair. Jewish opinion was greatly aroused over this case of an Italian Jewish child whom his nurse, a pious Catholic, had secretly baptized. Now the church claimed the child, and this occasioned world-wide comment. The German paper reported the case in detail.<sup>10</sup> Ludvigh spoke approvingly of the stand of the European liberal press in this matter and even commended the otherwise oft-lampooned Louis Napoleon. President James Buchanan was roundly criticized for his non-intervention. The Pope, Ludvigh wrote, was "right" according to the church canon; but this he declared to be pirate's law which should be anathematized.

Truly, this is new proof that Romanism and Republicanism are as bitterly opposed to one another as Ormusd and Ariman, as God and the Devil.<sup>11</sup>

There was strong anti-Catholic feeling in the state, which at first centered in the German-speaking section. The wildest rumors were set afoot about Catholics, and the *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* compounded the situation by reprinting the calumnies without comment, thereby giving them added prestige and circulation.<sup>12</sup>

Nativism was rampant all over America. The Know-Nothing Party was putting candidates in the field. But its virulent anti-foreign campaign found little echo in Minnesota. Close to half of all its residents were foreign born, and they could vote according to the newly adopted Constitution even if they had not been naturalized.<sup>13</sup> The final upshot of the nativist agitation was that the different national stocks were more closely bound together in self-defense and thus overcame an often long-harbored antagonism. The Midwest was geographically provincial,

<sup>10</sup> *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* [=MSZ], Dec. 4, 1858, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1858, p. 2. See also Bertram W. Korn, *The American Reaction to the Mortara Case, 1858-1859* (Cincinnati, 1957), pp. 122 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* [=DPD], Sept. 25, 1857. This was an alleged story about the morals found in convents. It was also a diatribe against the Bible. Ludvigh had given a talk and said that he could not see "how any man with common sense could believe in such a book." He also advocated that Roman Catholics should not be allowed to become American citizens: MSZ, Dec. 25, 1858. There was also a Swedish paper, *Hemlandet*, published in Galesburg, Ill., which appealed to the Northwest in strongly anti-Catholic and anti-German terms (see March 31, 1855).

<sup>13</sup> W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 15.



but it is historic to say that in the two decades preceding the Civil War, it was the most American part of America.<sup>14</sup>

Despite its fear of Know-Nothingism, Minnesota, like the rest of the Midwest, voted for Lincoln's Republican Party. The foreign vote was strong; perhaps it decided the elections and thereby America's future.<sup>15</sup>

Minnesota's population had undergone a number of significant shifts. From its early Swiss days with its French language it had changed into a cosmopolitan, complex pattern in which the native-born always held the edge. However, for the next generations this margin was never overwhelming, so that Minnesota always retained the character and flavor of immigration country. While in some communities the German, Swedish or Finnish tongue prevailed entirely, it was the mixed urban centers which set the tone for cultural and political development. In 1875, when population trends began to assume greater fixity, Ramsey County had 58.4 percent native-born inhabitants, more than half of whom were Minnesota-born. Of these, many were children whose parents belonged into the 41.6 percent category. When Ignatius Donnelly, running for Lieutenant Governor in 1859, made an appeal "To the Foreign Born Citizens of Minnesota,"<sup>16</sup> he knew that he was directing himself to half the electorate.

There were also a few Negroes who had found their way to Minnesota. Understanding for them was minimal. They were still publicly referred to as "niggers"<sup>17</sup> and there was considerable tolerance for the institution of slavery. Even the Republicans did not like the Abolitionists too well; and amongst Minnesota Democrats Abolitionism was anathema.<sup>18</sup> In 1860, when Minneapolis and St. Anthony had a combined population of about six thousand, there were only twelve Negroes; while St. Paul had sixty

<sup>14</sup> George M. Stephenson, "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with special reference to the Mississippi Valley," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. IX, no. 3 (Dec., 1922), p. 202.

<sup>15</sup> Donnal Smith, "Influence of Foreign Born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. XIX, no. 2 (Sept., 1932), p. 192, makes a strong claim in this direction.

<sup>16</sup> *DM*, June 15, July 19, 22 and Aug. 4, 1859.

<sup>17</sup> The *Daily Minnesota Pioneer*, May 31, 1854.

<sup>18</sup> W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 68. *MP*, March 24, 1853, felt that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was "mischievous, however well intended. . . ."

Negroes amongst over ten thousand inhabitants.<sup>19</sup> For many years, they were set aside for special opprobrium.

Sam Jackson, negro, who made the disturbance in the colored church, near the city hall, was yesterday fined \$5.00 and costs.<sup>20</sup>

The Indian at the doorstep constituted a problem unto itself. The farseeing Goodhue recognized its implications,<sup>21</sup> for there were still twenty-five thousand Indians in Minnesota when it became a Territory.<sup>22</sup> During the fifties one could still see on the streets of St. Paul

the painted Sioux, striped over like so many wild zebras of the desert.<sup>23</sup>

To the whites, Indians were not quite human. When one of them was executed for a crime, a large crowd came to witness it more as "a joke than as a solemn act of justice."<sup>24</sup> In 1862, the community experienced warfare with the Indians. Many lives were lost in the Sioux outbreaks, and this left many settlers with a long-lasting hatred of the Indian.<sup>25</sup> This attitude of the white man to the Indians was of not inconsiderable importance, especially as long as Minnesota patterns were still fluid. As a potential or actual enemy the Indian served as a catalytic factor: he reminded a heterogeneous population of the need for unity and emphasized their common destiny during the critical formative years. Thus the *Minnesota Democrat* reminded its readers that Jews were after all white men and were thus to be respected:

In vain have nations and sects hurled anathemas against the Jew . . . He belonged to a superior race . . . He was a WHITE man—he was of the God-appointed, ruling, progressive race of humanity, for such all nature, all experience, all the philosophy of facts, and the attestations of religion, prove the white race to be. Therefore, it was, that the Jew, in accordance with the Eternal Will, so wonderfully preserved his civilization, and survived every catastrophe.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities* (Minneapolis, 1937), p. 172.

<sup>20</sup> *St. Paul Press* [=SPP], Jan. 13, 1871.

<sup>21</sup> *MP*, May 26, 1849.

<sup>22</sup> W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 254.

<sup>23</sup> *MP*, Feb. 12, 1852.

<sup>24</sup> J. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

<sup>25</sup> W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 211, 125 and 137.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in *Asmonean*, vol. IV, no. 5 (May 23, 1851), p. 36.

Molders of public opinion stressed the advantage which came to Minnesota from its diverse elements. "Puritan and Cavalier, Old World Men and New" could mingle on an egalitarian basis.<sup>27</sup> J. Fletcher Williams, looking back on the community's first twenty-five years found it to be:

a society more cosmopolitan and with greater variety and breadth of culture, than can be found in many cities of quadruple our age and population. Freedom from insularity marks our habits and manners as it does our position; the representatives of many lands have contributed their graces and refinements. . . .<sup>28</sup>

It was a society in which minorities found themselves welcomed without fanfare and accepted as a matter of course.

The first churches had already been built. They were modest structures which were put to many uses and were the community's concert, lecture and meeting halls. In 1851, there were five churches in St. Paul: Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Episcopalian.<sup>29</sup> Christian mores prevailed, but had frontier overtones. The editor complained:

Why will the people of St. Paul, take their dogs with them to church, on Sunday? It is no suitable place for quadrupeds to be entertained with dogmas.<sup>30</sup>

Came St. Patrick's Day, and even the non-Irish learned to wear the shamrock.<sup>31</sup> Street orators were urging people to temperance; a chapter of the Sons of Temperance was in existence. The ladies of one church promised each other not to indulge in the retailing of slander or the competition of excessive entertaining.<sup>32</sup> The first Territorial Legislature had enacted a very stringent Sabbath law which testified to the Puritan influence of the early law makers, but the determined opposition it met foreshadowed its ineffectiveness.

The *Minnesota Pioneer* found it unnecessary to have New England blue laws revived in Minnesota, "in which Sunday had

<sup>27</sup> G. Stephenson, *loc. cit.*, p. 202, quoting Rev. George F. Magoun.

<sup>28</sup> J. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-457.

<sup>29</sup> *MP*, Feb. 6, 1851.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1851.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, March 27, 1851.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, May 19, June 21, 1849; Minutes of the St. Paul Baptist Sewing Society (in Manuscript Division, MHS).



hardly yet become a settled resident.”<sup>33</sup> All liberals could be greatly encouraged by the spirit in which the next legislature incorporated the new university, stating specifically that “no sectarian instruction shall be allowed.”<sup>34</sup> And when ten years later the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers left Fort Snelling for war duty, Chaplain Edward Duffield Neill, it was especially noted,

outstretched his hands and solemnly pronounced the Hebrew blessing, “The Lord bless you and keep you.”<sup>35</sup>

It was a decade of excitement, with boom and depression, a babel of languages and backgrounds, with its unbelievers, its Christians and now, in increasing numbers, its Jews.

<sup>33</sup> *MP*, Aug. 21, 1851; W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 256.

<sup>34</sup> *MP*, May 29, 1851.

<sup>35</sup> W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 84 and note.

## *Mount Zion*

ON JULY 4, 1856, this notice appeared in Isaac M. Wise's *Israelite*:

ST. PAUL, MIN[N]ESOTA. — The friends of Israel will be glad to hear, that our brethren of this Far West city have united in a congregation, on the principles of Israel. Young as this city and territory are, yet it affords a home to the dispersed sons of Israel; far away as our brethren there are, they forget not the religion of their fathers. We request our friends to supply us with the particulars relating to their religious affairs.

Allowing for several weeks' delay in writing, sending and printing the item, the organization of Jewish life in Minnesota may be placed in the late spring of the year. Several weeks later we learn of the first names.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA TERRITORY. — There are but eight Jewish families and some young men of our persuasion in this new city in the Far West. Still they organized a congregation and elected a Hazan, Mr. Lion of Cleveland, who receives an annual salary of \$400. The name of the congregation is "Mount Sinai Hebrew Association of St. Paul." Mr. A[braham] Greenewald, the Secretary, is our informant.<sup>1</sup>

The Secretary made an error in stating the number of Jews then in St. Paul, and there was also a slight error in the name. The Congregation was called *Har Zion* or Mount Zion, not Mount Sinai. During the winter a third notice supplied further particulars. Henry Cole [also called Cali] was mentioned as President, Julius Mendelson as Vice-President and Treasurer. We learn that Kalmon Lion was not only a *hazzan* but also a *shoḥet* and that

<sup>1</sup> AI, Aug. 22, 1856.

For a fuller description of the origins of the Congregation see the author's *Mount Zion 1856–1956: The First Hundred Years* (St. Paul, 1956), chapters 2–5.

each of the members had contributed \$50. From this a burying ground had been purchased, the first Jewish cemetery in Minnesota.<sup>2</sup> Even a French paper copied the news: St. Paul was now definitely on the map of Jewish life.<sup>3</sup>

Its Jews were in fact ready for the next step. The Association was to obtain a special charter from the Territorial Legislature. But all was not in order in the little group: while democracy prevailed in the choice of officers, the election left bitter feelings. A violent quarrel ensued. When Mr. Lion, the *hazzan* and *shohet* of the infant congregation, resigned, the split was complete. The secessionists, who included the only qualified personnel but who were lacking the cemetery, caucused and chose a time-honored, though somewhat unrealistic, way: they founded another congregation. With a surpassing lack of humor they called themselves Congregation Ahabath Achim [*'ahabat 'ahim*], i.e., Love of Brothers, and also began steps to incorporate.

"A Bill to incorporate the Mount Zion Hebrew Association" was introduced into the eighth session of the Territory's House. The incorporators were Cali, Mendelson and Greenwald, all officers, and Henry Marks, S. Josephs and S. E. Beckert.<sup>4</sup> Three weeks later, on February 10th, Ahabath Achim also appeared on the legislative docket. In the interval Beckert had switched his allegiance and was now listed as a prospective incorporator on this document also. In fact, there is good reason to believe that he was the leading figure in the split, for he soon took the helm of the newly formed group. Probably, therefore, the time of secession fell somewhere between January 19th (the Mount Zion Bill) and February 10th.

The rift left Mount Zion with very few members indeed, but the few were determined to see their project through. Their bill

<sup>2</sup> *Occ.*, vol. XIV, no. 9 (Dec., 1856), p. 454. Mendelson's name is spelled Mendelssohn.

<sup>3</sup> *Archives Israélites*, vol. XVIII (Sept. 1857), p. 548.

<sup>4</sup> House of Representatives, Bill no. 16, introduced Jan. 19, 1857, by William Pitt Murray. Greenwald is spelled Greenald, and Beckert appears as Becket; in other sources later also as Pickart. In *American Jewish Archives* [=AJA], Western Issue, vol. VIII, no. 2 (Oct., 1956), p. 102, the rift is laid to differences in the mode of worship and disagreement over the cemetery. There are no grounds for these assumptions. The same reference is also in error when it takes Mount Sinai to be the name of the early Congregation. It was always known as Mount Zion, but the correspondent made the error.



had passed the House in January; it was approved by the Council (the upper Chamber) on February 12th; and two weeks thereafter, on February 26th, Willis A. Gorman, Governor of Minnesota Territory, signed the bill and the charter of Mount Zion became law.<sup>5</sup> By coincidence it was the same day on which, in Washington, Congress passed the Enabling Act which authorized the Territory to take all necessary steps toward eventual statehood. The newspapers had reported on all the legal steps of the congregation's incorporation process, and had found nothing extraordinary about it. Jews in the Territory were no novelty, and their religious association was therefore to be expected and was accepted as a matter of course.<sup>6</sup>

For some reason, Ahabath Achim did not pursue incorporation procedures at this time. Perhaps its bill had been introduced too late, or the calendar was too crowded. However, while Ahabath Achim never received a charter it was eventually incorporated, after considerable delay, in the winter of 1859, just two years after the split.<sup>7</sup>

Organized Jewish life had hardly got under way when the economic panic struck in the summer of 1857. It left the two Jewish congregations in poor financial circumstances. They could ill afford to stay apart; but their quarrel had spilled over into the national Jewish press, and feelings were too deeply hurt to allow for early reconciliation.

Newspaper controversies, in mid-century America, uninhibited by libel laws, were often wild and exaggerated, and though readers loved them they discounted their contents a good deal. For several issues running, in the *Israelite*, the contestants called each other names and corrected each others' press releases. In

<sup>5</sup> *Session Laws*, 1857, pp. 110-111.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, *DM*, Feb. 12 and 13, 1857 (p. 2, col. 2) on the Council resolution, which had amended the one passed by the House. Concurrence was therefore necessary and occurred on the 16th. It was reported by the paper the next day (p. 2, col. 4).

<sup>7</sup> Its only appearance on the territorial docket was as House of Representatives, Bill no. 253, in 1857. On Jan. 3, 1858, election was held and certified for Trustees. Elected were: A. Blum, Isidor Rose, and Kalmon Lion. The document was acknowledged Jan. 5, 1859 and filed for record Jan. 7. See Registry of Deeds (Ramsey County), vol. A, Churches, pp. 95-97. Powers of Corporation are derived from legislative acts of Aug. 12, 1858; and articles were filed for record Jan. 12, 1859.

the long run, the dispute had at least one beneficial result. By leaving its imprint on the pages of the *Israelite* it left us with names and data which otherwise would have been lost. There is a quaint mixture of humor and earnestness in these letters, which has lost none of its flavor over the distance of one hundred years. It all started with an erroneous report which bore no signature:

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA. — The Legislature of Minnesota Territory have granted a charter to the first Jewish congregation in the territory, *Ahabath Achim*, in St. Paul, over which Mr. S. E. Rickert presides, and Mr. K. Leon is *Hazan*.<sup>8</sup>

This was in March. In May, there was a reply.

ST. PAUL, M. T. — In your columns of March 4th there is an article stating that the Legislature of Minnesota granted a charter to the first Jewish congregation in the Territory, which is true; but not to the Kahal of *Ahabith Achim*, of St. Paul, over which Mr. S. E. Bikert acts as president, and R. Leon as Chasan [*hazzan*]; but to the Mount Sinai Hebrew Association, at which Mr. Cole acts as President; a chasan we had, but he was discharged for partaking of party feelings, and joining the Kilah [*kehillah*] of Ahabith Achim, which consists of numbers (2) two.

The origination of the party feelings was on account of *certain members* wishing to hold offices, who, in our estimation, were not capable of fulfilling them, for which reason they have organized the aforesaid Kilah (*Ahabith Achim*), where they all hold offices.

OLD SUBSCRIBER.<sup>9</sup>

The retort came literally post-haste. It was quite a document, also replete with imaginative spelling, but also with much information. The writer was more modest in his signature than his opponent: he was merely "A Subscriber."

Saint Paul, May 16, 1857.

EDITOR *Israelite*: DEAR SIR — In your paper of May 1, was an article from St. Paul, which was not founded in truth, stating that the members of Ahabath Achim Kahal all held offices; therefore, find below mentioned, all the members and officers of the aforesaid Kahal:

<sup>8</sup> *AI*, March 27, 1857. Note misspelling of Beckert and Lion.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, May 1, 1857. Note misspelling of Ahabath Achim, Beckert, Lion, and Mount Zion itself. Also the false reference to the issue of March 27.

M. L. SALOMON	A. ARNHEIMER
W. SCHREIBER	S. BECKER
T. ROSE	G. HIRSHLER
S. ADLER	M. ROSE
S. SCHUSTER	E. ROSE
H. ROSE	B. ROSE
S. ETTINGER	

S. E. BICKART, *President*  
 A. MAPER, *Vice President*  
 H. HIRSBERG, *Secretary*  
 J. ULLMANN, *Treasurer*

F. BECKER	} Trustees
A. BLUM	
M. GUNDELFINGER	
K. LEON, <i>Chazan</i> [ <i>hazzan</i> ]	

The Kahal of Ahabath Achim, of St. Paul has, at present, Three hundred and forty dollars, of a fund, and will be able to build a Synagogue within one year.

Please find below the officers and members of the Polish Kahal Mount Sinai Hebrew Association of St. Paul:

H. COLE, *President*  
 M. MENDELSON, *Vice President and Treasurer*  
 M. MARX, *Secretary*

E. LOWITZ	} Trustees
H. MACKS	
M. HYMANN	

S. NEWMANN	} Members
MR. PHILLIPPS	

A SUBSCRIBER <sup>10</sup>

The great thrust was, of course, the aside that Mount Zion was a "Polish" congregation. This was manifestly a figure of speech, for they all had come from Germany or France. It was the South

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, May 29, 1857. Misspellings: W. Schreiber (probably B.), T. Rose (I. Rose), Bickart (Beckert), Maper (probably Mayer), Hirsberg (Hirshberg), Leon (Lion), Macks (Marks), Hymann (should be H. Heiman, later Hyman), Phillipps (L. Philipps); and again Mt. Sinai for Mt. Zion. Three additional names appear on Ahabath Achim's incorporation document; Isaac Ansel and his son, and Simon Jacoby.



German's revenge on his East Prussian coreligionists. The very use of the word foreshadowed, however, the social divisions which were to mark the community in later years, when "German" on the one hand, and "Polish" or "Russian" on the other, meant unbridgeable parts within the Jewish group.

In the wake of the depression, negotiations were taken up between the groups, but nothing further happened because economic conditions began to improve again.<sup>11</sup> Eventually, the rift was healed. Joseph Ullmann had lost a child, and Meyer L. Salomon, his wife. The families applied for the use of Mount Zion's cemetery and were accorded all privileges. Then Cole and Beckert, the antipodal presidents, moved away — victims of the 1857 crash. Next, Ahabath Achim's financial mainstay, Joseph Ullmann, moved the headquarters of his ever expanding business to Chicago, and later to Germany. Finally, one of the city's most prominent Jews, Isaac N. Cardozo, joined Mount Zion, and within a few years all remaining secessionists had rejoined. In time Ahabath Achim went out of existence.<sup>12</sup>

Mount Zion's cemetery was the one fixed point in the life of the early divided Jewish community. Jews from Minneapolis and other points in the state were brought here, to the only hallowed ground. The old stones and records still speak of the disproportionately large number of children who died in infancy or early age. They occasionally tell of Jews in other communities. Mankato's early settlers, who followed Isaac Marks, were here laid to rest.

The land was located on the south side of Erastus [now Front] and Sylvan Streets. It served there until 1889, when transfers were made to the present property, on Payne and Larpenteur Avenues.<sup>13</sup> Even in its old location it was a long journey from the city to the cemetery, especially in the hard winter. For Minneapolitans it was an all-day voyage, with stop-overs at Midway House. Since Erastus and Sylvan were really at the edge of nowhere, it is no wonder that a congregational committee was

<sup>11</sup> Mount Zion Minutes, [=MZM] vol. I, Aug. 1, 1858.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, 1857–1869, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Mount Zion Cemetery Records; Cemetery transfer book; *St. Paul Directory*, 1876 (map).

cautioned to prevent the burial ground's fence "to take fire from the prairies."<sup>14</sup>

Mount Zion had yet one other asset, and the historian is truly appreciative of it. It had, from the beginning, a good sense of history. Perhaps it was part of the intellectual climate in Minnesota, for the existence of the Minnesota Historical Society goes back to the origins of the Territory. Mount Zion members kept records soon after the incorporation of the synagogue and, what is equally important, preserved them. Of course, the quality of English depended on the person of the "Hon. Secy." The first entry read as follows:

At a special Meating Called by the Presidend it was moved & second to thake the Room of I. Tronstad at \$100 p. year. Payable monthly in advance.<sup>15</sup>

The congregation followed traditional religious lines; and it may be assumed that Ahabath Achim did the same. Mount Zion defined its purposes according to precedent:

To secure the advancement of the Israelitic faith, by providing for Divine Worship, and religious school instruction and by such other means as the congregation shall from time to time provide and be necessary, provided however that the Hebraic form of worship and rites shall always be maintained and recognized as the form and worship of this Congregation. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Hebraic in this context meant not merely what today is called Jewish; it meant *traditionally* Jewish. While Reform had already obtained a significant foothold in a number of cities, Jews in St. Paul would have none of it for the time being. To be sure, they were not all traditional in their personal habits. Amelia Ullmann evidently had no qualms about eating pork during the long winters.<sup>17</sup> But in official practice the congregation hewed to the Orthodox line. Its major concern, beyond religious services, was to have ritually clean food; and therefore its first functionaries were men proficient in the slaughtering of animals as well as in

<sup>14</sup> MZM, vol. I, April 4, 1858, and *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, May 17, 1857. "Tronstad" was Frystadt, who leased them a second-story room on Robert, between 3rd and 4th streets. See also MZM, vol. I, Oct. 26, 1858.

<sup>16</sup> Mount Zion, Articles of Incorporation.

<sup>17</sup> See *MH*, vol. XXXIV, no. 3 (Autumn, 1954), p. 97.

leading the service. As children were born, the ability to circumcise and, finally, to teach were added to the requirements of the religious functionary. In the course of time the growing complexity of these duties made it necessary to divide responsibility for ritual functions and engage a Rabbi—but this was still a decade away.

Kalmon Lion had gone into secular business, so that another qualified man was needed. A salary of three hundred dollars per annum was promised to a man who could be teacher, *shoḥet*, *hazzan* and *mohel*; and Emanuel Marcuson accepted the position which had been advertised in the *Israelite*. Marcuson had served in Augusta, Georgia; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Portsmouth, Ohio, before coming to St. Paul. The *Occident*, for which he had written scholarly articles, took note of his service in Minnesota and gave him a splendid accolade:

ST. PAUL. — The Rev. Mr. Marcuson has about ten pupils in his school, where they acquire among other things a knowledge of sacred languages. Mr. Marcuson is certainly one of the first Talmudists in the country; and we hope that favorable circumstances may attend him in his present field of labor, and that he will succeed in accomplishing much good in his distant locality.<sup>18</sup>

The new man was soon well known in the city. Whereas the *St. Paul Directory* did not list either Mount Zion or Ahabath Achim in 1858–1859,<sup>19</sup> now, four years later, Mount Zion appeared under “Churches, Hebrew.”

Mount Zion Congregation—Robert Between Third and Fourth; Reverend E. Marcusan [*sic*!], Rabbi.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Occ*, vol. XX, no. 1 (April, 1862), p. 40. To help matters along, publisher Isaac Leiser sent Marcuson a supply of school books; *ibid.*, vol. XX, no. 9 (Dec., 1862), p. 430. Rabbi Abraham Shinedling of Albuquerque, New Mexico, called my attention to references about Marcuson (who at first spelled his name Marcusohn). About his service prior to coming to St. Paul see *ibid.*, vol. IX, no. 6 (Sept., 1851), p. 324; vol. X, no. 8 (Nov., 1852), p. 414; vol. XI, no. 1 (April, 1853), p. 77; vol. XIII, no. 7 (Oct., 1855), p. 369. For samples of his writings see “The Tetragrammaton,” *ibid.*, vol. XXI, no. 1 (April, 1863), pp. 33–35; “Good and Evil,” *ibid.*, vol. XXI, no. 3 (June, 1863), pp. 135–137; “Reasons for our Faith,” *ibid.*, vol. XXI, no. 8 (Nov., 1863), pp. 371–373; no. 9 (Dec., 1863), pp. 421–423; no. 12 (March, 1864), pp. 537–541. See also MZM, vol. I, March 7, 1858 and Oct. 12, 1862.

<sup>19</sup> The fact that they did not have a synagogue was evidently not the reason; for the House of Hope Presbyterian Church, which was in the same position, was listed.

<sup>20</sup> *St. Paul Directory* [=SPDir], 1863; p. 142.



In another place, Marcuson was listed as "Rabbi of Mount Zion Synagogue," who conducted a Hebrew School.<sup>21</sup> At that time, there were sixteen other religious institutions in town, two of which were Catholic.

Before the fifties bowed out in the haze of depression and under gathering clouds of Civil War, the first inklings of religious ferment could be felt in the fledgling Jewish community. One of the Jews in town had entered into a mixed marriage. Could he be admitted to the Congregation? There was doubt, and the honored practice of asking a well-known Rabbi suggested itself. Some members proposed that New York's redoubtable Orthodox leader, Dr. Morris J. Raphall—later of Civil War fame—be written to, but others insisted that Reformer Isaac M. Wise of Cincinnati also be questioned. As a compromise both men received the inquiry, and both replied at once. Wrote Rabbi Raphall:

NEW YORK, May 17, 1853. In reply to your inquiry I beg to say that no congregation will receive as a member or admit to the ספר [*sefer*] for any דבר שבקדושה [*dabar shebikedushah*] a man who is married to a non-Israelite. His having children or not makes no difference. As to observing the covenant of Abraham, by having the children circumcised, is not enough. Before they can be recognized as Israelites they, like all other גרים [*gerim*], must undergo טבילה [*tebilah*]. So must the girls.<sup>22</sup>

Rabbi Wise answered the same week, and exactly in the opposite. Our codes contain no law providing to exclude one from קהל [*kahal*] or forbid him to be called to the ספר [*sefer*] on account of his marriage connections except the cases of ערוה [*erwah*] as specified in Leviticus, Chap. 18, which please read.<sup>23</sup>

The responses were filed without comment, and we do not know which opinion was favored. The infant congregation was cutting its first teeth. It was most definitely alive.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76 and 146.

<sup>22</sup> MZM, vol. I, June 13, 1858. Orthodox law requires that the proselyte take a ritual bath of purification, and that a male proselyte be circumcised.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

## *These Are the Names*

THE JEWS who lived in Minnesota during the fifties had generally three things in common:

1. Most of them came from Germany.
2. They came to Minnesota after having first lived in some other part of the States.
3. They were of the merchant class, and many brought some capital with them. It was often only a few hundred dollars, but that was all that was necessary to start an independent business.<sup>1</sup>

The first business directory was published in St. Paul in 1856-1857, the year in which Mount Zion was organized. Most of the Jews were in the clothing field. Aaronheimer<sup>2</sup> and Marks had a store on St. Anthony Street, near the Presbyterian Church. President Henry Cole's establishment [Elias and Cole] was across the street; his was "Dry-goods and Clothing." Secretary Abraham Greenwald was a partner in Newman and Greenwald and lived over the store. Heiman's Clothing was on Minnesota Street, between Sixth and Seventh. The "People's Clothing Store" was owned by Henry Marks and was located on St. Paul's principal business street, on Third, between Cedar and Minnesota. Morris Marks Clothing was two blocks east, below Robert Street.

Julius Mendelson, soon to be President of Mount Zion, was in the same branch of business. He was associated with Fuller and

<sup>1</sup> This summary is based on references found *infra*, notes 3-25, pp. 40 ff. The individual case stories enumerated in this chapter therefore contradict the generalization made by Bernard D. Weinryb, "The German Jewish Immigration to America: A Critical Evaluation," in Eric Hirschler, ed., *Jews from Germany in the United States* (New York, 1955), pp. 116-119. These immigrants were, as Weinryb points out, usually young people, but they were not generally poor nor from proletarian families.

<sup>2</sup> Later spelled Arnheimer.

also carried dry goods; their store was at the corner of Robert and Fifth. Aaron Meyer's place was over on Fourth and Jackson, and a year later S. Meyers' enterprise was added to the list of clothing dealers.

Only a few of the early comers went into other lines. They had not as yet entered the fur trade with which a few years hence they would be so prominently associated. Joseph Ullmann at this time dealt in wholesale liquors (Jackson and Fifth), and the following year had added cigars to his stock. The young Rose boys who had first boarded with the Ullmanns and now lived at Central House, one of the larger pension-hotels, were also trying their luck in the liquor business, and had a shingle of their own on Jackson, between Fourth and Fifth. None of the Jews listed in the early directories advertised. They were still too cautious, too zealous for their small capital—or perhaps their more conservative German upbringing was still asserting itself.<sup>3</sup>

Like all other settlers, the Jewish immigrants came to Minnesota in search of better opportunities, and were sparked with the spirit of adventure. They were a hardy crew and, except for old Jacob Newman, were fairly young. Most of them were in their thirties, many still in their twenties; and soon they had plenty of children whom they brought up in a pioneering environment. They had seen a good deal of the United States, had never stayed too long in one place, and belonged to that large mobile population who in those decades changed the face of America: settling in one place, helping to create new cities and new states; then, if misfortune struck or other opportunities arose, moving on, until they found their permanent spot. No wonder then, that after the 1857 panic St. Paul was left with only half its inhabitants and that, of the Jewish group also, so many names prominent in the

<sup>3</sup> See *SPDir*, 1856–1857, 1858–1859, under alphabetical headings. The only exception was Louis Blum[e] whose New York Bazaar had advertised steadily since 1853 (see *MP*, Dec. 29, 1853). His dry goods establishment was in the early days located on First Street. He was described as a “large, fine looking man, black hair and black whiskers and very pleasant in his ways” (T. M. Newsom, *op. cit.*, p. 722). But there is no real certainty that he was Jewish. In 1857, he and his wife Nancy were thirty years old. He was born in Germany, his wife and two children, Paul and Grace, in New York (Census, 1857, no. 1460). Similarly, none of the information about one of St. Paul's early fur dealers, C. J. Kovitz, leads to a definite conclusion about his background; see above chapter 2, p. 11, note 8.



early annals vanished from sight. But, however brief their stay, they belonged to the builders of the community. Most of them had helped to organize Jewish life and thus left their imprint on the fate of later immigrants and future generations to come.

Many a personal history reads like a travelogue or a lesson in geography.

Mount Zion's first president and incorporator Henry Cole was born in 1820, in Prussia. His wife, Fannie, came from Prussia also. At least since 1844 they had lived in New York and their first child was born there. They went to Illinois, returned to New York, then came to Minnesota. After the crash they left and we know nothing of their later fate.<sup>4</sup>

The Anselms were German born—Isaac in 1808 and his wife in 1807—but they had long been Americans. During the middle thirties, they had come to Kentucky where their oldest son was born about 1835. Five years later, they had another child, this one in Missouri. Eight years later, they had moved up to Illinois, where their next three children were born. By 1857, they had their clothing business in St. Paul; and both Isaac and his oldest son, a bookkeeper, signed as incorporators for Ahabath Achim. They weathered the depression but during the Civil War they moved away.<sup>5</sup>

One of Mount Zion's early members was David Lowitz. Born in 1821 in Prussia, he had married a New York girl. Their first child was born in the East; their second, a girl, in Minnesota in 1857, one of the first Jewish children to be born there. It is likely that David was preceded in his trek west by an older brother or cousin, Elias, who proudly listed himself as "naturalized." His wife Emma was fifteen years his junior and like her husband from Prussia. Two of their children saw the light of the world in New York, the youngest, in the winter of 1856–1857, in St. Paul. David manufactured cigars and Elias had the retail outlet.<sup>6</sup> Elias became the second president of Mount Zion.

<sup>4</sup> Census, 1857 (Ramsey County, no. 609).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1315. There are some traceable errors in this census notation (by no means an unusual occurrence): Isaac is listed as "A," (correct in 1860 Census), and his age is given as 45, instead of 49. He was a Hamburger, his wife a Bavarian.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 520; see also Census, 1860.

Hirsch Heiman (or Hyman, as he was also known) came, like the others, from Prussia. In 1857, he was in his mid-forties, one of the "older" men in town. He and his wife Teresa had come to America before 1845, where their fourth and fifth children were born. Next we find the family in Pennsylvania, with three more children born there. By 1860, Hyman owned a store and had one thousand dollars in other possessions. He remained in the state; in later years his widow was one of the most generous contributors to the Congregation when subscriptions for the Temple building were taken.<sup>7</sup>

There were two Newmans in St. Paul, and they were evidently not related. One Jacob was a clothing merchant and fully seventy years old. He must have been a hardy man to come all the way to the new territory. Moreover, he was in charge of a young family. There was Fannie, eighteen years old, who like Jacob hailed from Germany. She had a one-year-old baby who had been born in Virginia. Was Fannie the wife of Jacob, or was she his daughter-in-law, her husband having suddenly died after their arrival? The other Newman, probably also Jacob (or Joseph), came like his wife from Hungary. Their older daughter was born in Minnesota, in 1856.<sup>8</sup>

One of the richest Jewish merchants was Meyer L. Salomon. In 1860, he had possession of seven thousand dollars after having lost everything a few years before. He was fifty-six years old then, gave Bavaria as his country of origin and was a widower. He roomed with fellow-Bavarian Ferdinand Becker who was much his junior, but married, and who had charge also of a younger brother, Solomon.<sup>9</sup> Both Beckers and Salomon were charter members of Ahabath Achim.

Salomon was in the liquor trade and his business activities led him into other communities. One of his outlets in St. Anthony

<sup>7</sup> Census, 1857 (Ramsey County, no. 559). There is some discrepancy between this information and that of the 1860 Census. The latter has the family originating in Prussia, the former in Russia. Such an error was not infrequent, because of the close similarity in sound. Taking the children's names and general population trends into consideration, the 1860 Census must be preferred. It lists only five children, probably due to the fact that the older ones, Morris, Augustus and Louisa, had meanwhile moved away.

<sup>8</sup> Census, 1857, no. 1311; Census 1860.

<sup>9</sup> Census, 1860; Census 1857, no. 1339.

was a William Dreschler, with whom he had some litigation.<sup>10</sup> In the course of his business, he must have had an argument with Joseph Ullmann. The matter became serious, and Ullmann threatened to do him bodily harm. Salomon was frightened and incensed and called sheriff and district attorney. Consequently Ullmann was indicted, and in the course of time the case went all the way to the Minnesota Supreme Court.<sup>11</sup>

Minnesota's first Jewish functionary, Kalmon Lion, was born and educated in Koblenz, Germany, had come to the United States in 1851 and settled in Cleveland where he had been in charge of a small congregation. His wife and infant son joined him there, and soon thereafter he answered Mount Zion's call to come to Minnesota. In the sixties the family settled temporarily in Plattsburg, New York, but returned again to St. Paul and here lived out their lives.<sup>12</sup>

Julius Mendelson, the Congregation's third President, was in his thirties at the time of his election in 1859. A Prussian by background, he listed eight hundred dollars in possessions and noted that he had one servant. The Abraham Koritowskys, also clothiers by trade, had two thousand dollars and came from the same background.<sup>13</sup> The Marks brothers, Morris and Henry, two of the eight Mount Zion loyalists, had come from Germany and were neighbors in St. Paul. Each one had one child and one Irish maid servant.<sup>14</sup>

One Jewish contingent came from German speaking Alsace-Lorraine. Abraham Blum had come with wife and five children from the old country, and he for one was no merchant. He listed

<sup>10</sup> *Solomon v. Dreschler*, 4 Minnesota 278, Gil. 197.

<sup>11</sup> *State of Minnesota v. Joseph Ullmann*, 5 Minnesota 13, Gil. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Lion died on April 14, 1884. His wife's name was Dina Lederer, and their second daughter Fanny married a Philadelphian, Dan Goodman, in 1872. Minnesota's first Rabbi officiated at this, his first wedding in Minnesota (*AI*, Dec. 13, 1872). The couple settled in St. Paul, and the husband died soon thereafter (*ibid.*, April 26, 1878). Their daughter Frances Goodman (died 1953) married Julius Heilbron in 1892, and three children issued from the marriage: Laura, Doris and Bertha. Miss Bertha Heilbron is, and has been for many years, Editor of *Minnesota History*, and has kindly supplied some of the family data. In 1958, she published *The Thirty-Second State*, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> Census, 1860. Koritowsky is also spelled Kurotovsky, Koratowsky, Korotowsky. Census, 1857, No. 1650, differs slightly in the Mendelson (here spelled Mendason) date.

<sup>14</sup> Census, 1857 (Ramsey County, no. 1648).



himself as peddler and estimated his possessions at two hundred dollars. His energetic eighteen-year old son who peddled also had already reached his father's capital status.<sup>15</sup>

By far the most prominent of the newer arrivals was Joseph Ullmann who hailed from Alsatian Mulhouse.<sup>16</sup> He was born March 26, 1826, and came to America in 1852, with 1,500.00 francs to his name. For two years he explored the country: his trek led from New York to Savannah, to New Orleans, to Louisville and to St. Louis, before he settled, for a few years at least, in Minnesota. He started in the liquor trade, but soon saw enormous possibilities in the fur business. Within two years he did an annual business of three to four hundred thousand dollars; and the potential was such that he established offices in Chicago, New York, and then in Europe. There he lived in later years to head one of the largest fur houses in the world. His partner Isidor Rose stayed in St. Paul and managed the original offices. It was in the nature of so far flung an enterprise that legal problems should arise; and indeed, the early court records bear witness to many such litigations.<sup>17</sup>

The Ullmanns' name was connected with Jewish congregational life from the beginning, when they were listed with the secessionists of Ahabath Achim. In later years they took an active interest in Mount Zion. A generation later, Joseph's wife, Amelia, sent a Torah mantle and pulpit cover from Leipzig where she then lived; and the *American Israelite*, somewhat broadly and inaccurately, commented:

Mrs. Ulman [*sic!*] was, so to speak, the founder of the Mount Zion Congregation, and has always endeavored to promote its success.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Census, 1860.

<sup>16</sup> That is, Muehlhausen-Pfastadt; for information on the Ullmann family, see [Ullmann] *Denkschrift* (Leipzig, 1904) pp. 12-14 and *passim*; Census 1860; and the memoirs of Amelia (Mrs. Joseph) Ullmann in *MH*, *loc. cit.*, and Jacob R. Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews, 1775-1865* (Philadelphia, 1955), vol. II, pp. 351-375. Amelia's diary records no specific Jewish information. It is an excellent first-hand report on conditions in early St. Paul. It does, however, reflect the total acceptance which Jews like the Ullmanns enjoyed in the community. There was no exclusion of any kind.

<sup>17</sup> See Clerk of Court's Office Ramsey County, nos. 4911, 1097, 116, 2562, 2793, 1439, 1687, 1762, 1770, 1771.

<sup>18</sup> *AI*, April 29, 1887. There was another Ullman [*sic!*] family in town, in 1857. They were probably neither related nor Jewish. See Census, 1857, No. 2861.

Tragedy was part of the settlers' experience. The Ullmanns lost a child, and at the same time their former competitor and bitter antagonist, Meyer Salomon, lost his wife. Both bodies were buried near each other, but a gulf separated the survivors. Ullmann was now one of the richest merchants in town, while Salomon had been so impoverished in the 1857 depression that he could not even afford the \$10.00 burial fee, which the Mount Zion Board charitably forgave the Ahabath Achim member.

The Ullmanns had three young boarders when they first set up housekeeping. Their name was Rose; Isidor and Emanuel were brothers, and Benjamin was probably a distant cousin.

Isidor soon cast his lot with Ullmann, and in time the St. Paul business bore his own name. He was born in Speyer [Germany] on October 9, 1832, and had come to St. Paul via New Orleans, where he had landed as an eighteen-year old. From the beginning he took a commanding interest in religious life, and his natural leadership qualities soon asserted themselves. His was a remarkable record of community service. He first joined the Board of Mount Zion in 1869, was twice its president, and served for forty years in varying capacities, until in 1909 his place as a trustee was given to his son Albert. Rose combined business acumen with strong Jewish convictions. A moderate reformer, he had a profound influence on the development of both his synagogue and the wider community because of the importance the Temple had for the development of Jewish life. In 1865, he married Nannie S. Levi, with whom he had three sons. In 1915, he died in the city whose growth had paralleled his own. "Well known and honored in St. Paul because of a benevolent spirit and broad humanitarianism," a contemporary wrote of him.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> William B. Hennessy, *Past and Present of St. Paul, Minnesota* (Chicago, 1906), p. 443. Census, 1857, no. 1336 (which is in error on his age); Census, 1860; *The Book of Minnesotans* (Chicago, 1907), p. 436. Isidor was the son of Albert N. and Fannie Flegenheimer. Information was also supplied by his grandson, Harold Rose of White Bear, Minnesota. Isidor had three sons, Albert N. (Napoleon), Isaac E. (Edgar) and Nathan S. (Simon). Albert served on Mount Zion's Board for a number of years, and his wife, Mayme, was President of the Temple Guild in the early part of the twentieth century. Of the third generation, Albert N., Jr. (son of Albert N., Sr.), Mrs. Howard J. Seesel, Sr. (daughter of Isaac E.), Harold and Karl (sons of Nathan) were, in 1957, residing in St. Paul. Of the fourth generation, H. James Seesel, Jr., was in that year serving his second term on the Board of Mount Zion Temple.

See also Census, 1860; AI, March 11, 1915.

Of Emanuel Rose little is known; but Benjamin made his mark in the city. For many years he served as trustee of Mount Zion and, in 1873, was the new B'nai B'rith lodge's fourth president. His early death, in 1888, was a deep shock to the St. Paul Jewish community.<sup>20</sup>

Few Jews who came to Minnesota as heads of families were American-born. One was Isaac Nunez Cardozo who had been born in Richmond, Virginia, and who was related to the renowned Seixas and Judah families. He, too, had pioneer blood and tradition; and before he made Minnesota his home he had seen and tried other parts of the world. Admitted to the bar in Philadelphia, he first moved to New York, then went to South America, joined the 1849 gold rush in California, returned to New York and married a Virginia girl. In 1857 he went west again, as far as St. Paul—and here his trek ended. Already the next year Judge Rensselaer Nelson of the United States District Court appointed him his deputy, a position which then carried the title "Commissioner." He was the first to hold the office, serving the Circuit and District Courts, and held it until he died at the young age of fifty-seven. He became known as "Judge" Cardozo, was an active Democrat and one of the best known citizens of his day. In the early years his office was on Third, between Franklin and Washington Streets; and his home was at Chestnut and Fort.

It appears that he was not at first active in Jewish life. But when five years after their founding both Mount Zion and Ahabath Achim were floundering badly, and Cardozo, with his considerable prestige, joined Mount Zion, he helped to secure its future. It was then that Marcuson, the *hazzan* and *shoḥet*, was engaged, and the constant growth of the congregation dates from that time. When the first B'nai B'rith lodge was founded, Cardozo was the logical choice to head it, and in later years he took its chair once again. The Board of Mount Zion enjoyed his active support almost to the time of his death.<sup>21</sup>

There were other Jews in Minnesota during the 1850's. Of

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1888.

<sup>21</sup> Census, 1860; MHS, Scrap Book, vol. I, p. 152; MB (*MHS Collections*, vol. XIV [St. Paul, 1912]), p. 105; *SPDir*, 1863. Cardozo was born on June 25, 1820, and died Nov. 2, 1887. His wife's name was Rachel; her maiden name could not be ascertained.



some, we know but little; others doubtlessly lived in outlying communities and left no trace.

Bernard Schreiber lived in Mankato. A Prussian by birth, he was thirty-five years old in 1860; and had come to Minnesota during the last of its territorial days. Ohio and Indiana had been his previous stopping places in his American trek. Mankato was the end of the line. Here he stayed, raised his family and died. His tombstone can still be seen in Mount Zion Cemetery.<sup>22</sup>

Stillwater, too, registered its first Jewish resident. He was Abraham Levy, Virginia-born like his wife. He was twenty-nine when the census taker made the rounds in 1860, and listed over five thousand dollars as his possession.<sup>23</sup> Of still others, Isaac Bernheimer, Felix Strauss, Abraham Oppenheimer and Selah Hart, we know little more than their names.<sup>24</sup> Some of them stayed only briefly, and then were gone. Others, like Moritz (later Maurice) Auerbach, became prominent in business and civic affairs, but had little, if any, identification with the Jewish community. Yet, even the presence of the marginal Jew often was of consequence for the fate of the other Jews.

Auerbach is an example. In a community which had an early tradition of total Jewish acceptance and integration he found it easy to drop his Jewish heritage. Still, his origins were clear. In 1880, he married the daughter of one of Minnesota's leading citizens, Henry Rice, the state's first Senator in Washington. On the one hand this union underscored the position which this "Jewish banker" had achieved in public esteem—for to the public he remained a Jew. On the other hand, it pointed the way to others whose loyalty to Judaism was weak, and who waited only for the proper opportunity to break the thread which bound them to the past.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Census, 1860. Two of his children are also buried there: Rosalie, who was born in Cleveland and died in Mankato in 1879; Dora, who was born in Mankato in 1864 and died there in 1880.

<sup>23</sup> Census, 1860.

<sup>24</sup> Bernheimer, evidently an Easterner, may never have resided in Minnesota. He had a local representative and did business with Elias Lowitz. See *Bernheimer v. Marshall & Company*, 68 Gil. 61. Also Clerk of Court's office, Ramsey County, nos. 119, 120 (Strauss), p. 243 (Oppenheimer), p. 376 (Hart).

<sup>25</sup> Auerbach was born in 1835 and had come to the United States in 1857. The same year he moved to St. Paul where he started as a clerk, opened a dry goods store, and later became President of the Merchants' National Bank, St. Paul Title & Trust Company, and of the Union Bank. See *MB*, p. 23; T. Newsom, *Pen Pictures*, p. 637; *SPDir*, 1863.

## *Old Ties and New Bonds*

HOWEVER FAR away Minnesota was from the old country, however long it took the mail to travel to and fro, the ties which united the settlers with their homes across the ocean remained strong. Most arrivals had parents or brothers and sisters back home, and while the older folks usually did not expect to come to America, the younger ones did. Thus, there was constant correspondence; there were family responsibilities which made the ocean smaller and gave the new country a more familiar look as relatives began to arrive in increasing numbers.

The Jews, like all others, came from diverse backgrounds. Many had only minimum schooling. Others, like the Noachs and Cardozos, came from homes of culture and had a good education. But they were not the only ones. Some of the foreign-born had had good secondary school training and came from moderately well-to-do families who held respectable positions in their home communities. These people emigrated not merely because of acute economic need, but also because Jews had no future in Germany, as the failure of the 1848 revolution and its subsequent reactionary repressions had convincingly demonstrated. Still, there were many to whom emigration did not appeal. As a general rule, German Jewish intellectuals stayed at home.<sup>1</sup> Jews had lived in Germany for too many centuries to cast it off like an old suit. The children who set out for America probably had no intention of ever returning, but many a parent back home cherished the secret hope that some day the "exiles" would come back

<sup>1</sup> Bernard D. Weinryb, "The German Jewish Immigrants to America," *loc. cit.*, p. 118. See also Adolf Kober, "Jewish Emigration from Württemberg to the United States of America (1848-1855)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* [=PAJHS], vol. XLI, no. 3 (March, 1952), pp. 225-273.

to their birthplace. There was military conscription to be thought of also, and German Jews, faced with Germany's meticulous and pedantic army systems, did not always dare to treat the problem as boldly as would their Russian brethren a generation later: by flight.

Dr. Moritz Mannheimer was a case in point. He was a physician in the little town of Dinkelsbühl [about eight miles from Wittels-hofen, the home of the Austrians] where he was much respected, but where his talents were severely circumscribed by official chicanery. He could not move without obtaining a special permit and could not practice where he wished. He was an intelligent and cultured person, and sadly frustrated like many of his co-religionists. He had counseled his children to try America, but he was careful to make them aware of their relationship to their old home. He offered them business counsel and advice on how to deal with superiors, and he reminded one of them concerning his conscription duties:

I am sure that you would not wish to force me, who is a member of the Draft Board, to sentence you as a deserter, and thus rob us of the hope to welcome you back some day as a respected and educated man — a hope which alone makes it possible for us to bear the painful separation from our dear children.<sup>2</sup>

His children were doing well in America. There was no question in their mind that this would be their permanent home. They had come equipped with a good education, modest funds and high standards. In the distant new world they must have read with nostalgia as well as sorrow their father's last admonition:

Darling children, Mina, Louis, Gottfried, and Robert and Emil — In this hour, which is probably the last I shall have on earth, I ask you most solemnly never to leave the path of virtue and righteousness; and I implore all of you always to hold in highest honor your dearest Mother, who has devoted so much love to you, and who deprived herself of so much in order that you all, except Louis, might have an education, and who made so many sacrifices for your father. . . . Live happily and well, which does wish for you your faithful and loving father.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Written Nov. 10, 1858. Original in German, in the possession of Miss Elsa Mannheimer, St. Paul (with whose permission these items are used). This letter was addressed to Gottfried (Godfrey).

<sup>3</sup> Written May 27, 1861. Dr. Mannheimer died shortly thereafter, and the whole



The doctor signed himself in Hebrew, as if to remind his children that "the path of virtue and righteousness" must be also the path of Jewish tradition. Doubtlessly other immigrants were thus sent forth by their families, and generally they did their best to hold on to the way of their fathers.

This was not always easy, especially not in frontier lands like Minnesota. But then, Judaism had never claimed to be an easy and convenient religion, and its children were, for the most part, prepared to encounter some difficulties in maintaining old observances.

*Kashrut*, i. e., the maintenance of dietary laws through the use of ritually clean meat, was generally an important consideration for Jewish communities. The engagement and supervision of a *shohet* became a chief function of most newly founded congregations. This was true also of Mount Zion which during the Civil War and for the remainder of the 1860's was the only organized Jewish group in the state. To be sure, Jews now lived in various Minnesota cities, especially in Mankato, Hastings, and Stillwater, and were settling in the newer towns across the river, in St. Anthony and Minneapolis, and occasional prayer meetings may have taken place here and there without formal organization. But to St. Paul, Jews brought their dead for burial and there they went for all their ritual needs.

Mount Zion's development followed the usual pattern. Its fortunes were tied to the slow economic recovery of the city and reflected the rapid expansion which followed the end of the war and lasted until the "Jay Cooke depression" struck the country in

---

community, Jew and Gentile alike, accompanied him to his last rest. His letters to his children offer an enlightening, though pathetic, comment on what a German Jew of culture of that time tried to do and be. He finally gave up in the face of insurmountable bureaucratic intransigence. His children became most prominent in Minnesota. Robert was born in Bavaria in 1839, came to the United States in 1854 and to St. Paul in 1876, where he joined in the already successful business his brothers Emil and Jacob had established (See Andrews, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 119; a picture of Robert appears in vol. I, p. 180). By the mid-seventies Mannheimer Bros. had the largest drygoods establishment in the Northwest. They employed five hundred persons and had offices in New York and Paris. The business was combined later with Schuneman's in St. Paul. The family took a significant part in the development of the Jewish community; its Goodkind and Guitermann branches supplying leadership in St. Paul until well into the twentieth century; and its Julius and Lessing Rosenwald connections bearing on the course of Jewish events.

1873. People now generally referred to Mount Zion as a "Congregation" and in time its name was legally changed from the former more modest "Association."<sup>4</sup> In 1866, it numbered sixty-four souls, including children, who worshipped at 100 Third Street, in a third story room. The city directory listed it as an "Israelitish Association,"<sup>5</sup> and the newspaper announced:

Tomorrow the Jewish new year commences, a festivity called in Hebrew the Rosh Hashana. It will be observed by the Jewish congregation here in an appropriate manner.<sup>6</sup>

Services were traditional in every way. Even if the members' personal habits were changing, the ritual of the service itself still reflected their close ties to the homes they had left and the lessons they had learned there. To be sure, many of them read Isaac M. Wise's liberal *Israelite* rather than the conservative Isaac Leeser's *Occident*, but that may have been in no little measure due to the *Israelite's* German-language supplement which enjoyed much favor. For many of the Jews spoke German at home, and Wise's approach and style were more familiar to them. They sang the old melodies; they used Jewish expressions in their daily lives; they referred to themselves as *yehudim* and to some of the less acceptable ways of their environment as *goyishkeit*; they said *oren* rather than *davenen* when they spoke of praying; they said *nebbich* in commiserating regret, and pronounced the *ch* softly like the Germans. Their speech was interlaced with expressions like *dalles* [for poverty] and *chen* [which signified real understanding and taste]; and when they were angry they might do something *Thachlis*.<sup>7</sup>

The Jews of early Minnesota read German books and German poets; they had intellectual interests and were touched by Ger-

<sup>4</sup> MZM, vol. I, Oct. 19, 1862; Minnesota *Special Laws*, 1872, p. 477. The law was approved Feb. 29, 1872.

<sup>5</sup> *SPD*, 1866, p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> *St. Paul Pioneer*, Sept. 29, 1867. The additional remark that "they are not as yet a regularly organized Congregation," was manifestly an error, which was repeated on later occasions; see Henry Castle, *St. Paul and Vicinity* (St. Paul, 1912), vol. II, p. 543. The war years were, however, a period of organizational quiescence. Marcuson had left, and no new *hazzan*, *shohet* and teacher is known to have been in St. Paul for the remainder of the decade, until the arrival of H. Cahn, in early 1870; see MZM, vol. I, Jan. 2, 1870, and *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> I.e., "for spite," a specifically German-Jewish corruption of the Hebrew word *lehak'is* (to provoke anger).

man rationalism, and they made sure that their children would receive a good education. They were making a rather spectacular success of their business ventures, and the time had now come to think of a more representative home for their worship.

Although as early as 1864 the *Occident* had reported that they had \$2,000.00 as a capital fund and were looking for a suitable lot,<sup>8</sup> another six years passed until they were ready. Property was purchased at Tenth and Minnesota, which was at the edge of their residential area. In September, 1870, bids were taken and accepted, and by the following January, the building was ready for use and the sexton, Moritz Kafka, began to heat the pot-bellied stove in the corner of the single room.<sup>9</sup>

It was a simple frame building and made no pretense of competing with the more impressive structures of other faiths. To the Jewish community it was a symbol. It had taken fifteen years of slow and painful growth to erect the first synagogue in this part of the country. The modest structure now was visible assurance that Minnesota had become their permanent home.

From Milwaukee, the nearest other congregation, over 350 miles away, they brought Rabbi Elias Eppstein to dedicate the building to its sacred use.<sup>10</sup> It was Friday afternoon, January 13, 1871. The members of Mount Zion closed their places of business and attended services in a body. There was no musical instrument, and neither was there a choir. The Rabbi preached in English and German on the survival values of Judaism which had proved themselves superior to century-long persecution. A reporter from the press was there and described the ceremonies in detail. The newspaper was somewhat at a loss as to placing the

<sup>8</sup> *Occ.*, vol. XXII, no. 1 (1864), p. 47. Later financial developments make it doubtful to believe that the amount was as high as here reported. See *MZM*, vol. I, Aug. 21, 1870, Nov. 20, 1870, Jan. 1, 1871.

<sup>9</sup> Kafka later became St. Paul's first Jewish policeman. He died, at the age of seventy-eight years, in 1917. At the time of his death, his children had pioneered throughout the area and were living in such communities as Milnor and Edgeley, North Dakota, and Staples, Minnesota. His son Gustave, who still remembered helping his father get wood for the stove in the first Temple, was buried from Mount Zion's fourth synagogue on Aug. 28, 1955. See *AI*, March 29, 1917; *B'nai B'rith Lodge Book*, vol. II, *sub.* Lodge No. 157. His picture appears in *Plaut*, *op. cit.*, facing p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Elias Eppstein was born in 1831 in Alsace-Lorraine, was educated at Bonn and received his rabbinical diploma from Rabbi Moshe Mertzig, *American Jewish Year Book* [= *AJYB*], 1903-1904 (5664), p. 73.



synagogue's worshippers in their proper category. Were they Jews, Hebrews, Israelites? Diplomatically, the report used all three ascriptions and headlined the event:

JEWISH CEREMONY

DEDICATION OF THE NEW HEBREW SYNAGOGUE

and then continued

The Israelites of this city. . . .<sup>11</sup>

The presiding officer was forty-year old Solomon Bergman who had joined the Congregation only the year before. He had come to St. Paul from Cleveland, because he suffered from chronic laryngitis and because the Minnesota climate as well as the fur business were guaranteed to have remedial qualities. He was born in Württemberg, was much travelled and had acquired a broad cosmopolitan perspective. A strong personality, he soon became a commanding figure in St. Paul. During the next generation he served as President of Mount Zion for six terms of various lengths. He was acknowledged as the representative of the conservative religious element when Mount Zion turned to radical Reform, and he became a brake on the more extreme wing.<sup>12</sup>

"We have advertised for a *hazzan* [wrote one of the members who described the dedication ceremonies in 1871] and trust soon to be able to have the services of a good leader, which is all we now require for success."<sup>13</sup>

The erection of the new synagogue signalled the next stage of Jewish life in Minnesota. Now the community had roots, and now it was ready to develop branches.

<sup>11</sup> *SPP*, Jan. 14, 1871; see also *AI*, Jan. 27, 1871.

<sup>12</sup> See *Reform Advocate* [=RA] (Chicago), Nov. 16, 1907, p. 43; *AI*, Sept. 12, 1895. Bergman was born in Oelnhausen on Dec. 2, 1830, and died in St. Paul on Aug. 31, 1895. He was married to Julia Schlesinger. The family was also prominently connected with Jewish life in Duluth; see *infra*, chapter 19, p. 134.

<sup>13</sup> *AI*, Jan. 27, 1871. There had also been ceremonies on Friday night. After services "the members of the congregation assembled at the house of Mr. Julius Austrian, where the reverend gentleman resided, and took occasion to thank him for his kindness, and, at the same time, presented to him a very handsome gold-headed cane (as a token of their respect and esteem), which was suitably engraved in commemoration of the event."

## *Spreading Roots*

THE END of the Civil War was also the end of the early pioneer period. The men had come back from the fighting and were settling down to make the most of their new opportunities. The exploitation of the state's lumber resources gave employment to a large new labor force. St. Paul now had upward of twelve thousand inhabitants. Minneapolis too was growing fast. The water power at the Falls of St. Anthony hastened the growth of flour mills. By 1865, Minneapolis had almost five thousand people, and ten years later its population had reached that of the older city and by 1880 surpassed it. Other Minnesota villages and towns were growing into cities. The railroads reached the twin towns in 1862 and enabled their businesses and industries to make large forward strides. Agriculture grew from subsistence farming to large-scale wheat and dairy commercial enterprising. Still, the flavor of the frontier was not altogether gone. A Minneapolis newspaper complained:

Our streets are frequented by hungry and ravenous cows and hogs to such an extent that a farmer has to stand sentinel over his load of produce brought to market in order to protect it from injury.<sup>1</sup>

The Jews of Minnesota had gone out with their fellow-citizens and done their share in the Civil War.<sup>2</sup> With many other new immigrants now thronging their home towns, they began quite naturally to branch out in interest and activity. The soil was rich with potential growth. A single Jewish organization, with one room, would only be a mere beginning.

The first division in the Jewish community was of socio-ethnic origin and occurred first in the oldest community. The German

<sup>1</sup> C. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 5, quoting *Minneapolis Chronicle*, Dec. 1866.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A, *infra*, p. 311, on Minnesota Jews in the Civil War.

Jews of St. Paul were no longer alone. New settlers had arrived who were generally referred to as "Polish" and whose mother tongue was Yiddish. It was natural that they should find both the language and the customs of the older settlers somewhat uncongenial. In turn, the established residents, who were for the first time face to face with fellow-Jews who came from a different environment, reacted to the situation with the age-old exclusivist sentiment of the in-group. They became conscious of their own status, which was the prelude to the development of social separation.

This element of different cultural backgrounds was complemented by an increasingly strong attitude which began to assert itself at this time. By the early 1870's many families had been in the state for fifteen or even twenty years and had become well established. They had come when life was more primitive; when its rigors were more pronounced and the frontier spirit still pervasive. The latest group of immigrants was presumed not to know "what it was like in the olden days," which was perhaps not a logical approach—for the newly arrived German-born Jewish immigrants also belonged in the "greenhorn" category—but then, these latter were considered "family." Social developments are not founded on logic; they proceed more often by sentiment and intuition.

The first Eastern European immigrants were no desperate refugees like those who were to come ten years later. Like many of the German Jews they settled along Jackson and Robert, on Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Streets, moved along Payne Avenue and then back again toward Canada Street and what is now Capitol Hill. Some began as peddlers, others had small capital and went into storekeeping and manufacturing. A few had an excellent education. The first registered Jewish physician in the state was Dr. Joseph Mark who came not from Germany but from Lithuania. He had received his medical degree in the old country and was the son and grandson of doctors.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Joseph Mark was born in 1852, grew up in Pren [Preny], in Lithuania, and was licensed for practice in 1872. He came to the United States in 1877 and was licensed in Minnesota in 1883 as No. 166. Since 1883 was, however, the first year in which licensing was required, he may have practiced in the state at an earlier time. He worked in various parts of the state: in Minneapolis, Caledonia (Houston County), Lyle (Mower County), Steven (Marshall County), and Hib-



If these newcomers ever attended a service at Mount Zion they would have found it to be strictly Orthodox. There were differences in Hebrew pronunciation; and there were "Frankfurt" peculiarities in the worship,\* as opposed to the Warsaw and Vilna customs—but these variations were in themselves negligible. No reforms had as yet been introduced; in fact, as we shall see later, it was the very presence of the new Eastern European immigrants which encouraged the development of Reform and accelerated it psychologically. It was not ritual as much as social pressure which encouraged the formal establishment of another religion institution.

In the early seventies a number of the new "Polish" families agreed to establish the Chevrah B'nai Ya'akov ([*Hebrah Bene Ya'akov*] Congregation Sons of Jacob). As early as 1872 it was organized, and three years later, on March 20, 1875, under the leadership of Nathan Blumenthal, the Congregation was incorporated. Shortly thereafter, a cemetery was purchased, the second in the state to serve Jewish needs. Tradition has it that among the organizers were these:

SAMUEL CODDON, AARON MARK, MOSES CALMENSEN, NATHAN BLUMENTHAL, SIMON JACOBS, DAVID and WOLF GOODMAN, ABRAHAM KAUFMAN, NATHAN B. COHEN, CHARLES POLSKI, RAPHAEL MACHINSKY, EPHRAIM SKORISH, MAYER and JASCHA ROSENHOLTZ.<sup>4</sup>

They met in a room at 252 Robert Street, later moved to a space in the Eibert Block at Wabasha and College, and soon expanded and purchased a large home a block away from Mount Zion, at Eleventh and Minnesota. It had been used as a private academy.<sup>5</sup>

Rabbi David Segal, the spiritual leader of the congregation, opened the dedication ceremony with a Yiddish address. He was followed by Rabbi Judah Wechsler of Mount Zion who spoke in English and emphasized the function of the synagogue in the

---

bing (1909, where he acquired real estate). For a while he lived in St. Paul where his son was born. He was active in Adath Jeshurun synagogue in Minneapolis, and died Dec. 1, 1926. He was a nephew of Bessie Mark. His father, Dr. Haskell Mark, was said to have been a physician in Kovno (Information supplied by Dr. Robert Rosenthal and Mrs. Fannie Litman). Joseph Mark's son and grandson also became physicians.

\* Many congregations of German background followed the rites of the Frankfurt am Main community.

<sup>4</sup> On the origins of Sons of Jacob Congregation see Appendix C, *infra*, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press*, Sept. 15, 1879, p. 7, col. 2.

community. There were many Christians present; but, of course, the press could only report on Wechsler's English talk, and it did so in considerable detail.<sup>6</sup> Wechsler himself was greatly impressed, even though the Judaism he saw here was strange to him:

They have very liberally contributed to obtain a suitable house of worship and did everything possible to keep up the organization, support their Chasan [*hazzan*] and Schochet [*shohet*] and exert themselves on behalf of what they deemed proper, to strengthen their faith.<sup>7</sup>

Note the expression "their faith." Two years previously such words would not have been used. But this was the fall of 1879. In a comparatively short number of years the separation of the groups, of East and West, had proceeded rapidly, both socially and religiously.

With social separation there also came institutional diversification. In these years the first philanthropic, fraternal and social organizations made their appearance.

From time to time there had come appeals for help from various parts of the world. Sometimes it was for Jews in Russia or Palestine, sometimes for flood or epidemic sufferers in the United States.<sup>8</sup> Congregational funds were severely limited and could rarely be drawn upon. At this point the women entered the arena of Jewish activity. With modest enterprises, with sewing, bake sales and strawberry festivals, they began a high tradition of philanthropy. Under the leadership of the pioneer, Hannah Austrian, the Jewish women organized on November 12, 1871, into the Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society, the first Jewish organization of this kind in the state. Ten years later the women had become primarily concerned with local charities. By 1900, with Hannah Austrian still in the chair, they had spent many thousands of dollars for philanthropic causes, a remarkable effort for a group whose membership never reached one hundred.<sup>9</sup>

Rabbi Eppstein, who had helped to dedicate Mount Zion's

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *AI*, Nov. 14, 1879.

<sup>8</sup> See *MZM*, March 6, 1870, March 5, 1871.

<sup>9</sup> *HLBS Minutes, passim*. A single charity ball netted \$1,063.78 in 1899 (*ibid.*, p. 134); see also *AI*, Dec. 24, 1875. On Dec. 31, 1897, the society voted to incorporate.

temple in 1871, had also collected signatures for a petition to establish a B'nai B'rith lodge. He promised to return for the first installation and did not have long to wait.<sup>10</sup> Within the next month, on February 20th, Simon Rosenfels came from Chicago and Rabbi Eppstein from Milwaukee to conduct initiation ceremonies, and Joseph Abeles, soon to be Mount Zion's new president, assisted them. Isaac N. Cardozo was elected President; Abram Elfelt, Vice-President; Benjamin Rose, Recording Secretary; Daniel Goodman, Financial Secretary; and Julius Austrian, Treasurer.<sup>11</sup>

It was the national order's Lodge No. 157, and it took the name "Minnesota." There were twenty-seven men joining the group, some of whom, like Ralph Rees, represented the new Jewish settlement of Minneapolis. Rosenfels shortly thereafter moved from Chicago to St. Paul and was in 1874 elected President of the District Grand Lodge, the first of many to bring Minnesota leadership to bear upon the larger B'nai B'rith scene.<sup>12</sup>

The Lodge had rented a meeting room and had made arrangements with the Board of Mount Zion for joint use. However, there were conflicts of time, and the men of the Temple board had to look around for suitable quarters.<sup>13</sup> This seemed a simple enough problem which had often been met before. But the solution which was now attempted indicated that the Jewish community had reached a new stage in its development. Mount Zion's board meetings found their home in the quarters of a newly-founded Jewish social club.

In the fifties and sixties, the social climate of the city had been fluid. Jews were accepted according to merit and accomplishment. They had mingled with their neighbors in glee clubs, *Turnvereinen*, literary societies, and in their homes. Now the framework began to show some rigidity. Jews were less inclined to seek non-Jewish society, and their neighbors were no longer as ready as before to accept them. The synagogue took care of the need for

<sup>10</sup> AI, Jan. 27, 1871.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, March 3, 1871.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 30, 1874. He continued to be a leading figure in national B'nai B'rith, but died suddenly in 1885. See *ibid.*, Jan. 31, May 22, 1885.

<sup>13</sup> MZM vol. II, April 12, 1874; Ms letter in MZA, from B'nai B'rith secretary Max Warshauer to Temple president Solomon Bergman.



Jewish religious self-identification, but a new social need was making itself felt at the very same time when Jews began also to differentiate amongst themselves.

The result was a double process of self-segregation: a social club was established which provided Jews with a suitable and congenial environment of their own, and provided its "German" members at the same instant with an opportunity to draw intra-Jewish social lines. The new venture was called the Standard Club and occupied two floors at 226 East Sixth Street. It started out with the avowed double aim of fostering literature and sociability, but soon the emphasis was on the latter. For a full generation it served for balls and dinners, for parties of all kinds, as well as for weddings. Mount Zion's board met here for many years. The first "Hebrew Social Club" in Minnesota had set a new pattern whose importance cannot be overestimated.<sup>14</sup>

Further social diversification followed quickly. Benjamin Plechner, who was one of Minneapolis' early settlers, but now resided in St. Paul, had attended a historic convention in Milwaukee and written home about his impressions. He had seen many young men active on the wider stage of Jewish life and regretted that no such youthful potential existed back home.<sup>15</sup> It was the familiar complaint of the older generation, for there were quite a few capable young men in St. Paul, enough at any rate to establish another club. It was a club in the narrower sense of the word, which used the Standard Club merely as a place to meet. Members simply called it "Social Club," and membership

<sup>14</sup> *AI*, Dec. 24, 1875. The club was organized that winter, with 51 active members, "all well learned and energetic men." First officers were: Julius Oppenheimer, President; Simon Rosenfels, Vice-President; Solomon Bergman, Treasurer; Leopold Isaacs, Corresponding Secretary; Isidor Heiman, Financial Secretary; Trustees: David C. Sattler, Louis Goodkind, Julius Austrian, Moses Lichtenauer. Mount Zion reported its meetings there in December, *MZM*, vol. II, Dec. 5, 1875. Later, club quarters were expanded and moved to 140 East 7th Street. See *AJYB 1907-1908* (5668), p. 226; *1900-1901*, p. 299. The early club rooms were located over the Drake Marble and Tile Company at Eighth and Jackson Streets, where the Joseph Smiths were caterers. Club rooms and dining room were on the second floor, the ballroom another flight up. Ballroom and stage were heated by two large pot-bellied stoves. Many elaborate weddings were held here; regular meals were served on Sundays and dinners could be ordered for special occasions (From an interview with Frances Goodman Heilbron [b. 1873], January 1953, one month before her death; recorded by her daughter, Bertha).

<sup>15</sup> Ms. Letter, dated July 12, 1878, *MZA*.

in it was very restrictive. The members arranged for the usual series of entertainments and also debated on a variety of subjects, ranging from "Prohibition" to "China" to "Capital Punishment." They asked:

Is England Rising or Falling as a Nation?

Is the Western Union Strike Justifiable? [The negative won.]

Is Fire or Water More Destructive?

Should Grant Run for a Third Term?

Is Caesar Greater than Napoleon?

Jewish subjects were not discussed. Still the "Jewishness" of the club was beyond question, for Jewishness now had taken on strong sociological aspects which had not existed a few years before. On various occasions the Club discussed the advisability of inviting non-Jews. Once members voted on whether Christian girls could be brought to a dance. The answer was always in the negative. Tickets for all affairs were issued in such a way that they would be used only by Jews and only occasionally for selected Gentile friends of the members.<sup>16</sup> Here were the outlines of stratification within the Jewish community and of its relationship to the non-Jewish environment.

<sup>16</sup> Minute book, Social Club, beginning with June 18, 1882, when the club was founded. First officers were Joseph D. Sattler, President; Philip M. Rose, Vice-President; Louis R. Plechner, Secretary; Joseph L. Michaels, Treasurer. Other active members were Sigmund Wolff, Sigmund Greve, Albert N. Rose, Ambrose Guiterman, Morris Goodkind, Julius Maxman. The manuscript is in the private possession of Mr. Albert N. Rose, Jr., of St. Paul, with whose kind permission it was used.

## *A Thriving Little Place*

THERE WAS a note of patronizing encouragement in this newspaper notice, printed in 1853:

Minneapolis — this is a thriving little place, just sprung into existence, opposite St. Anthony, on land termed "The Reserve," which has not yet been brought into market, but which is rapidly becoming thickly populated.<sup>1</sup>

The origins of the city went back to 1849, but as early as 1834 two Protestant missionaries, Samuel and Gideon Pond, had already settled at Lake Calhoun.<sup>2</sup> It was surely coincidence, but nevertheless symbolic for the future pre-eminence of Minneapolis in Jewish education, that knowledge of Hebrew was brought to it by the first pioneers; for Samuel Pond was a self-taught Hebrew scholar who had composed a Hebrew-Dakota dictionary as a preparation for translating the Bible from its original tongue into the Indian language of the area.<sup>3</sup>

Minneapolis grew rapidly. It was incorporated in 1856, the same year in which Mount Zion was established. The new city was combined with St. Anthony in 1872 and not long thereafter had outstripped St. Paul in both size and business activity.

From the beginning the twin cities seemed to take on separate characteristics. St. Paul was a railroad center, and much of its economic success was tied to the steam engines which connected it with East and West. Minneapolis was more diversified in business and industrial effort and thus proved itself more flexible. In

<sup>1</sup> *MP*, Nov. 24, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Folwell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 186-187; Samuel W. Pond, "Leaves from a Missionary Journal," in Theodore C. Blegen and Philip D. Jordan, *With Various Voices* (St. Paul, 1949), pp. 242-245.

<sup>3</sup> See the author's article "A Hebrew-Dakota Dictionary," in *PAJHS*, vol. XLII, no. 4 (June, 1953), pp. 361-370.



time it appeared to observers that greater aggressiveness and enterprise were found more frequently in the younger twin than in the older, more conservative one. There were also differences in the composition of the populations, in the order of their arrival, in the relation of foreign-born to native American. These elements fundamentally affected the psychological and sociological nature of each community.<sup>4</sup>

The Jewish settlement too partook of this difference. There was a span of fully twenty years which separated the date of Minneapolis' incorporation from the date of its first Jewish organizational effort. By that time, Minneapolis was already a large city.

In St. Paul, the same span had only been seven years, a much shorter time not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. For between 1849 and 1856 St. Paul had still not outgrown its frontier character, and in 1857, with half the population having dispersed during the panic, it had to start almost all over again. In a real sense its Jews had been among the first-comers, its Jewish congregation had been among the first religious institutions in town.

In Minneapolis, the Jews as a group were comparative late-comers, and it is largely group life which exerts its influence upon its members as well as on its environment. It was in the nature of things that this should be so. Once a Jewish community had been established in St. Paul, it attracted newcomers to itself. Even after the first Jews had settled across the river they would come and participate in St. Paul's religious, fraternal and social Jewish life, as well as come for the burial of their dear ones. It was this latter need, so the story goes, which persuaded the Minneapolitans to look to their own resources and to have at least a cemetery of their own. The early community historian recalled:

A child in the community had died and was taken to St. Paul for burial. The several vehicles in the funeral party were lost on the plains in a blinding snow storm, and it was night before the party found its way into St. Paul. The hour was too late to obtain a burial certificate from the St. Paul authorities, or inter the body, so the party was compelled to remain in that city until the following day.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>For a detailed analysis of these circumstances, see *infra*, chapter 39, pp. 280 ff. See also *Springfield* [Massachusetts] *Weekly Republican*, Sept. 23, 1880, reprinted in T. C. Blegen and P. D. Jordan, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Ruby Danenbaum, "A History of the Jews of Minneapolis," *RA*, special

The result was the formation of the Montefiore Burial Association, in 1876. Other organizations followed in quick order. That same year, the women formed the Baszion Benevolent Society. It was a traditional name, for it meant "Daughter of Zion"—or was it perhaps not quite accidental that one of the founders was a lady named Baszion Rees? Two years later, the Jewish community was entirely on its own feet when the first synagogue was founded. From then on, organizational life began to flourish. It was only six years to the formation of the next synagogue, and another four years to the establishment of the third.

In 1882, there were more than a hundred Jewish families in town; but as little as four years earlier it had been hard to assemble a *minyan* [the required quorum of ten adult men].<sup>6</sup> This was cause for caustic comment:

There are enough Israelites to start a synagogue and B'nai B'rith Lodge and Club, but the reason for their not doing so seems they cannot agree, on account of opposition in business.<sup>7</sup>

The Jews did get together occasionally. A contemporary who had little patience with, and less understanding for, their traditional ways, wrote a few years later, in retrospect:

On the most solemn festivals, the few Hebrews met together in some rented room and worshipped God according to the very old fashion, that is everyone singing "Hallelujah" to his heart's delight,—a circumstance which scared away the progressively inclined families and induced several young men to marry beyond their denomination.<sup>8</sup>

Individual Jews had been in the city already for a number of years. "E. Altman and S. Lauchheim—Clothing, Wholesale and Retail, Bridge Square between 1st and 2nd" was the first indica-

---

Minnesota issue (Nov. 16, 1907). She specifically states that her information contradicts some statements in *AJYB* and in *JE*. Since none of the three sources is annotated, preference would seem to be a matter of choice. However, Danenbaum's information is more detailed and of the three sources mentioned is the only one which is in part first-hand, and otherwise at least first-hand reportage. 1904 is the year when the article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* was published. Dr. Samuel N. Deinard, the author, had just recently come to the city. Danenbaum's article has therefore been primarily relied upon. Albert I. Gordon, *Jews in Transition* (Minneapolis, 1949), used it similarly. Information in this chapter is based on her article without special reference, except where noted.

<sup>6</sup> *AI*, June 9, 1882.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1875.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31, 1882.

tion that Jews were establishing themselves in the community.<sup>9</sup> This was in 1866, and Minneapolis had already 7,000 other residents.

Three years later the Plechner brothers came to town. Of these, Benjamin exhibited a profound interest in Jewish affairs. A Bohemian by birth, he had served as a Marine in the Civil War and, in addition to his clothing and furnishing business from which he made his living, was a cabinet maker and poet on the side — with a book of poems to his credit.<sup>10</sup> With the Plechners came Ralph Rees. He had been born in Eppingen, in the German Grand Duchy of Baden, had emigrated to the States as a boy and had worked in New Jersey and Michigan. Rees was first a business associate of the Plechners, then he struck out for himself, invested in real estate and prospered with the city. He was responsible for the organization of the Montefiore Burial Association, he was a charter member of both St. Paul's and Minneapolis' B'nai B'rith lodges,<sup>11</sup> of the Shaarai Tov synagogue and the Free Sons of Israel. Organized Jewish activity in Minneapolis was bound up with Ralph Rees.

There were others who came in the late sixties and seventies: Samuel Alexander, a boy of fourteen; Henry Behrens, a clerk for Lauchheim; Theodore, Ralph Rees' brother, and later, Gustave, a third brother. There was Jacob Cohen, a dry goods dealer on Washington near Fourth Avenue South, who was reputed to be a Talmudist. Even though he was an East European from Vilna, he found no difficulty in being accepted by his fellow-Jews. While social distinctions were beginning to develop in St. Paul, Minneapolis had a Jewish community still too small for such stratification. Besides, since many of the Minneapolis Jewish settlers came from Bohemia, their German sentiments were not quite as pro-

<sup>9</sup> *Directory of Minneapolis and St. Anthony* (1867), pp. 27, 92, where Altman and Louchheim [*sic*!] are mentioned.

<sup>10</sup> About Plechner see *infra*, Appendix A, p. 311.

<sup>11</sup> Minneapolis Lodge No. 271, International Order of B'nai B'rith, was founded in Jan. 1877, by 21 men who are a good roster of the majority of Jews then living in the city: Ralph Rees, Joseph Robitshek, Abel Krutzkoff, Jacob Skoll, I. Diechek, Gustave Pflaum, Isaac A. Cardozo, Theodore Rees, Elijah Bloom, Jacob Cohen, Julius Rees, Max Bentson, Benjamin Bentson, Herman Rothschild, Harry Weixelbaum, Abraham Album, Simon Gittelson, Lewis, Kachil and I. Brin. See *American Jewish World* [=AJW] (Minneapolis), Sept. 22, 1922, p. 52. See also *Menorah Monthly*, [=MM] vol. V (1891), p. 12.



nounced as those of the *Reichsdeutschen*. With Cohen, who had fled from the Chicago fire, came Jacob Skoll and Abel Krutzkoff [or Krutzkopf] who went into the clothing business, as did the Philadelphia arrival, Cyrus Rothschild.

Those who did not have stores were mostly peddlers. "Jew peddlers are thicker than grasshoppers in Nicollet County," a local correspondent wrote to his paper.<sup>12</sup>

Soon there were others: Gustave Pflaum, a native of Rawitsch [Rawicz] in Posen [Poznan], who manufactured cigars and became well-known in civic circles;<sup>13</sup> the Jacob Deutsch family;<sup>14</sup> Joseph Robitshek; Simon Gittleson and Isadore Monasch; Max Segelbaum, from Hanover, Germany, and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Max Wolff, who had settled in Alabama and served in the Confederate Army.<sup>15</sup> Others came from the South: some because of the Cincinnati riots, and others because they thought that in Minnesota they would be immune from the dangers of the yellow fever epidemic.<sup>16</sup>

One of these was a young lady named Josephine Yancy, a Memphis native, whose sister had married a Jew, David Loewen-

<sup>12</sup> *Wright County Eagle*, June 23, 1875. But seven years later a Woodland correspondent thought it newsworthy to report that a Jewish peddler had passed through his locality; *ibid.*, April 24, 1882; see also *ibid.*, April 11, 1888. Dr. Robert Rosenthal called my attention to these references.

<sup>13</sup> Pflaum had married Hannah Schoenlank in 1864 in New York. They had seven children. Jennie (Jacobs) died in 1955, leaving two children, Samuel G. and Gladys. The latter's husband, Harold Field, was President of Mount Zion Temple in St. Paul (1947-1952), seventy-five years after Gustave Pflaum's first arrival in Minneapolis. Pflaum was born in 1837 and died in 1904.

<sup>14</sup> Ruby Danenbaum states that their son Henry was the first Jewish child born in Minneapolis (*loc. cit.*, p. 10). This is an error. Two or three of Benjamin H. Plechner's children had previously been born in the city: Louis (1866), Lillie (1868), and Freddie (1871).

<sup>15</sup> On Wolff see *infra*, Appendix A, p. 311.

<sup>16</sup> The roster of Jews known to have been in Minneapolis during the 1870's also includes (in addition to those on the B'nai B'rith Charter, see *supra*, note 11): Samuel Rice, Emanuel Kayser, the Herman Dittenhofer family from St. Paul; the Rees brothers' parents and sisters; Sander Segelbaum (with his brother Max he had the largest drygoods business in the city, on Nicollet near Third); Leopold Ehrlich, Louis Metzger, Sol Salzberger; Louis Werth, Morris and Herman Wilk (all three clothiers by trade); Samuel Rothschild; Albert Levi, a lawyer, and his brother Gerson; Isaac Faller, George Jacoby; the Harris brothers; Gustave Rees, David and Henry Weiskoff (both of whom married Memphis "refugees"); the Jacob Harpmans and Joseph Gronauers, and Isaac Weil.

Shortly thereafter came the Mikolas, Samuel Jacobs, Meyer Levi, Emanuel Abraham, Joseph Kantrowitz, Lewis Michaels, Louis Shilt families, and the Rosenfield brothers, Morris, Isaac and Louis.

stein. The Loewensteins had moved north to Minneapolis, where young Josephine met Marx Abrahams. Soon they planned marriage, but not until the lady had taken adequate instructions from Rabbi Judah Wechsler in St. Paul and had been publicly converted, in a ceremony which caused much comment. She was apparently the first proselyte accepted in Minnesota.<sup>17</sup>

From Pittsburgh came Edward Bernstein, a deeply religious man. There were more than enough families on hand to form a congregation, but they needed the drive and conviction of this newcomer to transform the potential into the actual. Bernstein was English by birth, a thirty-six year old Jew from Sheffield. He canvassed the families in town and prodded them into joining in a congregation of their own. A name was found—*Shaarai Tov* (*[sha'are tob]*, Gates of Goodness) and on October 8, 1878, it came into existence and was incorporated.<sup>18</sup>

A third story apartment was rented and an ordained rabbi, Henry Friedman, was engaged. Friedman was born on July 21, 1846, in Wornia, Russia, had been educated in Vilna and had gone to Germany where he received his ordination and where he served for some years. After coming to the United States he went first to Rochester, New York, and thence to Minneapolis. But matters did not go well in the congregation which, he later claimed, he had founded.<sup>19</sup> Many who were expected to join stayed away.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, plans went forward for the building of a synagogue. A St. Paul correspondent was much impressed with the "liberal sums" which were subscribed.<sup>21</sup> Friedman left, and a new rabbi, a Hungarian by birth, named Schreiber, was said to be "an excellent Hebrew scholar, but as he neither spoke German nor English, nobody cared to listen, and the excellent Temple was full of emptiness."<sup>22</sup> In fact, the spiritual direction of

<sup>17</sup> *AI*, Nov. 14, 1879.

<sup>18</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922, p. 47, where the first trustees are listed. Leopold Ehrlich was the first president (the information in Postal, *op. cit.*, p. 255, is incorrect). He was succeeded by Edward Bernstein who served for eleven years. The name of the Congregation was often spelled *Sharai Tov*, or *Tof*.

<sup>19</sup> *AJYB*, 1904-1905 (5665), p. 216.

stayed away.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, plans went forward for the building

<sup>20</sup> *AI*, Aug. 1, 1879.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1879.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, June 9, 1882. *JE*, vol. VIII, p. 599, is in error when it assigns Schreiber

the Congregation was in doubt. There were the reformers who looked at the transformation which Mount Zion had undergone; but there were also the conservatives who had to be considered. Friedman and Schreiber were compromise leaders; and not until the new Temple was ready for dedication was another, happier choice presented to the Congregation. This was a colorful man of talents, Rumanian by birth and Jewish by education. His name was Henry Iliowizi, and he seemed to be able to answer adequately a contemporary's statement of the problem: "Where find a man who is both Reform and Orthodox?"<sup>23</sup>

At the first service, on *Rosh Hashanah* eve, 1880, Schreiber was still in the pulpit. Two months later, when the Temple was dedicated with elaborate ceremonies, it was Iliowizi who presided. Now the paper spoke of the "New Hebrew Reform Temple," where before it had spoken of the "New Synagogue." Guest preacher Rabbi Solomon H. Sonneschein of St. Louis<sup>24</sup> made the spiritual development of the Congregation clear: he represented the viewpoint that Reform Judaism alone was the true Judaism. Isaac Stemple, a cantor from Washington, D. C., chanted the ancient melodies, but there was now a new spirit. What had set out to be, as one correspondent called it, "Conservative Reform Services," a "union of Orthodox and Reform faiths" was quickly and decisively leaning toward the liberal side. A new intellectual, social and spiritual tide was sweeping the country; and Minnesota was not unaffected by it. The struggle between old and new was accentuated by a contrast between East and West: the German Jews' striving for integration, and the Eastern Jews' desire for selfhood. In the new community of Minneapolis the lines were rather quickly drawn; in part because in the older congregation across the river a more dramatic religious conflict had already been fought and decided. The younger twin still took its cue and direction from the older and was thus saved from prolonged factional strife.

It was a modest, yet dignified Temple which the Minneapolis

---

to the year 1876. Neither Schreiber's first name nor other information concerning him could be ascertained.

<sup>23</sup> *AI*, Nov. 14, 1879. For details on Iliowizi see *infra*, chapter 11, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Sonneschein was of Hungarian birth and education, see *JE*, vol. XI, p. 469; *AJYB*, 1903-1904 (5664), p. 101.



Jews built on Fifth Street, between First and Second Avenue South. Their fortunes had risen fast with the rising tides of the city. Most of those who crowded the new synagogue were business people, clothiers many of them, a few manufacturers, a few dealers in spirituous beverages. They were in comfortable circumstances, there was no want; they had a rabbi to lead and speak for them, and they proudly presented themselves to their non-Jewish neighbors as people who were *arrivés*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> On the opening ceremonies, see R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 13-14, which also quotes the Minneapolis *Evening Journal's* description; *AI*, Sept. 17, 1880, which gives a complete description of the building which was modelled after Cincinnati's famous Plum Street Temple. The dedication exercises were reported at great length in the *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press* (Nov. 25, 1880, p. 7, col. 3; Nov. 26, 1880, p. 6, col. 2) and in *AI*, Dec. 3, 1880, with a complete printing of the major addresses. It is evident that R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 25-26, was in error when she said that Shaarai Tov was a Reform Congregation from the beginning. In 1888, the first building was moved to a new site, on Tenth Street and Fifth Avenue, and on this site a new Temple was built in 1903.

## *Men and Events*

WHO WERE the men who by training and profession were called to lead the fledgling Minnesota Jewish community? Even though we cannot always trace their influence with equal sureness, we know that much of the early direction of Jewish life depended on their guidance.\*

The first ordained rabbi to take a pulpit in Minnesota came to the state in 1871. Julius Austrian had persuaded his Board into engaging Dr. Leopold Wintner "to act as Preacher, Teacher and Chasen [*sic!*] in Hebrew or German, and teach at least three times a week and at least two hours a day."<sup>1</sup> The Board minutes recorded:

Mr. Julius Austrian agrees if Dr. Wintner is elected that if there is any deficiency in our Treasury to pay expenses that he will pay the same of the ensuing year, which was accepted.<sup>2</sup>

Wintner was a man in the fullness of his strength. He had a splendid education and considerable experience, and a distinguished career was still before him. Born in Hungary, in 1836, he was the son of Pinchas Wintner, a Talmudic scholar. He was educated at Talmudical academies in Miskolcz, Buda and Pressburg; went to the University of Vienna and then to Tübingen, Germany, where he received his doctorate in 1863. Shortly after Dr. Adolf Schmiedl of Vienna had conferred the rabbinical diploma on him, Wintner left for America. He came to the small frontier congregation in St. Paul after serving in Mobile, Alabama, Louis-

\* For a fuller treatment of the subject of this chapter see the author's *Mount Zion, op. cit.*, chapters 7 and 8.

<sup>1</sup> MZM, vol. I, Dec. 24, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

ville, Kentucky, and Jackson, Mississippi.<sup>3</sup> There were thirty member families to welcome him to the city; and a salary of \$1,200 was to be his emolument.

Wintner stayed only one year, but in this year he helped to turn Mount Zion from a traditional synagogue into the first paths of Reform. He introduced Confirmation; he permitted the use of an organ for that service; and he acquainted his people with the new thoughts of Isaac M. Wise's *Minhag Amerika*. He drew the women into active participation in synagogue work, and his religious school had planning and curriculum.

There will always be doubt whether it is men who shape events, or whether it is event and circumstance which help to make men what they are. The philosophic idealist will claim the former; the materialist, the latter. Both are probably right to some degree. Without Wintner's impetus Reform might not have made its entrance in Minnesota at this time; yet without propitious circumstances, without people ready for such change, Wintner would have met determined resistance.

That St. Paul's Jews *were* ready — at least for a few tentative attempts at reforms — was due to a number of reasons.

The general intellectual climate to which the German Jewish group was subject played a dominant role. Most of these people were reading the *Israelite* with its liberal editorial policy. Through its pages they kept in touch with other congregations throughout the country and noted that there was a national trend away from tradition. They wanted to be Jews, but they also wanted to be Americans. To them the union of these two aspirations could only be effected if Orthodox Judaism, with its old-world flavor, would make some concessions to the new environment.

Necessity had taught these early settlers to make decisions for themselves and to adapt old ideas to new conditions. It seemed

<sup>3</sup> He was married to Betty Stagl of Vienna. After leaving St. Paul he served Temple Beth El in Detroit; then returned to Europe and studied for two years at the University of Jena. From 1878 until 1901 he was Rabbi of Congregation Beth Elohim (now Union Temple) in Brooklyn. In 1902, he made a tour of Palestine. He published one book: *The Ancient Legislation Relating to Economics and Poverty from Biblical and Talmudic Sources*. See Isaac Markens, *The Hebrews in America* (New York, 1888), pp. 304-305; *AJYB*, 1903-1904 (5664), p. 105. Acknowledgment is also made of a personal communication from Mr. Irving Katz, Executive Director, Temple Beth El, Detroit.



natural for them to seek ways of spiritual satisfaction which could meet the demands of their exacting and exciting environment. In doing this, Jews were no different from the many Protestant settlers who, with frontier *élan*, sought their salvation in hundreds of new sectarian ways.

There was one additional and ultimately decisive element which weighed in the balance. This element was present to some degree wherever Jews settled in those days. It existed especially in the Middle West, and it can be observed with detailed precision in Minnesota's first congregation.

The desire for ritual reform became acute at the very moment when the first East European Jews settled in the community. The early German-Jewish settlers had just begun to find firm ground under their feet. The Civil War was over, the depression gone, and Minnesota was passing into its second stage of development. The state was quickly losing its frontier character. Its social divisions were now becoming more distinct and also more permanent.

In this society St. Paul's Jews had made an enviable place for themselves. They had been accepted socially and politically to a far greater degree than in most comparable communities. Naturally, they were eager to preserve and strengthen their status. They spoke German and English and "thought American." At this time the first Eastern Jews appeared in noticeable numbers. They spoke Yiddish rather than German; their dress was unusual — yet they were Jews. The general public, however, seemed to make no distinction between one kind of Jew and another. Subtly and slowly the German Jew began to separate himself from the new arrival, and soon the separation appeared quite natural and was rigorously observed by both sides. This sociological constellation played a role the significance of which cannot be overestimated. It was a slow, subconscious process at first which had social consequences only. At the same time, this division was accentuated by the partial exclusion of the German Jews themselves from Gentile society. The influence of these circumstances on religious thought was less obvious and subject to a good deal of rationalization, but it was clearly observable nonetheless. Reform at Mount Zion began with the influx of the East European

Jews. It remained moderate as long as this immigration followed its normal pattern; it became radical when, in the eighties, immigrants came as destitute refugees; and it became extreme when the East European Jews developed into a large, completely self-contained community whose integration into the American environment appeared remote.

When Wintner came, the first act of this intra-community drama was just unfolding. His own inclinations and convictions were perfectly suited to advance subconscious propensities to the level of ritual actualities. He aided his congregation in finding new forms of religious expression and thus assisted in the first stage of social separation.

But Wintner brought something more to Minnesota. He brought it the first public leadership which, speaking in the name of Judaism, addressed itself boldly to questions of the day, especially when in the context of democracy they affected the Jewish group.

A few weeks after his arrival the larger public heard his voice for the first time. Just then, Christian zealots were trying to rush through Congress a constitutional amendment establishing Christianity as *the* American religion. Wintner considered it "the duty of everyone of whatever nationality to work against this effort to destroy civil and religious freedom in this country."<sup>4</sup>

At *Purim* time he had something more to say on the subject. The press printed his address completely, giving it two full columns under the heading "A Hebrew Sermon." Wintner attacked the Hamans of America:

[They] emerge from their hiding place from time to time in different shapes, and colors as politicians, pietists, heads of churches, narrow-minded ministers, missionaries and other hired personages.<sup>5</sup>

He was critical of those who wanted "to put God into the Constitution," as well as of those who with their revival meetings desired to save the Jews.<sup>6</sup> Wintner set the tone for a courageous, non-apologetic exposition of his faith; and when he left (for

<sup>4</sup> *AI*, Feb. 16, 1872.

<sup>5</sup> *SPP*, April 4, 1872 (p. 2).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* For a sample of his purely religious and theological preaching at that time, see *AI*, Feb. 16 and Sept. 20, 1872.

reasons no longer known), his congregation rightly acclaimed him:

A true and zealous laborer in the field of Judaism, who enthusiastically defends our holy cause . . . a man worthy of his profession, who openly and conscientiously proclaimed the free doctrine of Judaism.<sup>7</sup>

Little is known of his successor, J. Burgheim, except that German was his native tongue and that he served in 1874 and 1875. But a good deal is known about Dr. Isaac N. Cohen, who was the third rabbi to serve in the state and who left his mark in both St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Cohen was born in Mecklenburg, Prussia, in 1820, and was therefore in his mid-fifties when he came to Mount Zion in 1875. As a young man he had been something of a prodigy. He had studied both rabbinics and medicine; the former at Berlin, the latter at Berlin and Heidelberg. After completing his education, he migrated to America and decided to practise his rabbinical profession. He first served as rabbi in Albany, New York, where he married Jane Rice, a union which was blessed with nine children. Later, he went to Buffalo, then to Scranton, Pennsylvania, and from there accepted the call to St. Paul.

His service here was brief but stormy, for Dr. Cohen was a man of temperament and temper. He laid little store by the customary staid behavior of the model clergyman. He was a man of the world and spent his leisure to his own liking rather than to that of his congregants. There was a good deal of talk about his personal habits, especially his propensity for playing cards. Matters turned from bad to worse; at one point the rabbi threatened to take action for libel against his detractors. Since he was a controversial figure, he had great difficulty with his religious reforms. The more conservative elements of the congregation opposed him strongly. Like Wintner and Burgheim, Cohen preached in German and English — alternately on successive Sabbaths — just as his predecessors had done. He also had a school for teaching languages and thus supplemented his meager earnings as a frontier rabbi.

Of his preachments and theology we know nothing. What we

<sup>7</sup> MZM, vol. II, Feb. 23, 1873.



do know is that this "worldly" rabbi introduced a new note into the community. His members probably thought his personal independence too great, his behavior too unconventional; still they could not help but be influenced by his attempt to create a new image of a rabbi in America.<sup>8</sup>

Upon leaving St. Paul he also left the rabbinate. He settled in Minneapolis and there returned to the medical profession which he practised until his death in 1895. He was known as the "Doctor-Rabbi" and often preached at Shaarai Tov when the incumbent was away or when the pulpit was vacant. On his passing, the press eulogized him as "one of the best known Jewish residents of the Twin Cities."<sup>9</sup>

In Wintner, Burgheim and Cohen, Minnesota Jews had become acquainted with different aspects of leadership. Now, just as the tide of East European immigration was about to break over America, there came to the state two unusual men. Completely dissimilar in nature and background, they were both eminently capable and well qualified for leadership.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, from May 16, 1875 on, *passim*. Cohen served the Congregation until 1878.

<sup>9</sup> *Minneapolis Tribune* [= *MTrib*], Aug. 14, 1895; R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12-13. Information on Dr. Cohen's medical background was collected by Dr. Robert Rosenthal. Dr. Cohen graduated from Berlin in 1852, according to the first issue of the *United States Medical Directory* (Detroit, 1886).

## *Two Rabbis*

RABBI JUDAH WECHSLER, the man who took Dr. Cohen's place at Mount Zion, had written his letter of application from New Haven, Connecticut. He had frankly told of his success in that community and elsewhere. He had referred to his numerous articles in various newspapers which set forth his views.

I may say however my life has been devoted to the cause of reform and progress within the pale of Judaism. My abilities are first-class as a lecturer in German & English, Reader & Teacher. My character is perfect. I have in my possession testimonials and recommendations which must satisfy any congregation . . . I will be able to accomplish as much in one year, as others in a number of years. It would be my highest aim to make your Congregation one of the most flourishing in the West . . . I am also a first-class *mohel*. I have sent with this a paper containing a sermon which I delivered here, that you may judge somewhat how I am looked upon here. Let me state here yet that I am a married man, 45 years of age and have four children. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The letter was signed "Rev. J. Wechsler," for "Rev." had come into style to denote rabbis, especially of Reform congregations. The writer did not exaggerate when he spoke of his ability. He had it in goodly measure, and with it went an enormous amount of energy to make it count.

Judah Wechsler was born on March 25, 1833, in Bavaria, the son of Hirsch Wechsler, who sent him to be educated at the University of Würzburg and at the Talmudic academy which was located in that city. Rabbi Seligman Baer Bamberger conferred the rabbinical diploma on him. In America, Wechsler first served in Indianapolis, then in New Haven, where he had attracted attention for his interfaith services and for his share in the

<sup>1</sup> Ms. in MZA. It is dated Jan. 22, 1879.

renovation of the Old Court Street Temple. He was short and stocky, determined and meticulous. Wherever he went, whatever he did, he had large ambitious plans which he pursued with singular persistence, to the point of self-sacrifice on the one hand and near brashness on the other. He wrote long epistles about his many plans, their successes and failures. During his Minnesota days he became a regular contributor to the *American Israelite* and his articles on refugees and their settlement appeared also in the *Jewish Messenger* in New York and were translated into the European Hebrew press.<sup>2</sup> In short, Wechsler was widely known as a man of energy and action; and while he talked a good deal of his personal share in these activities and thereby revealed a naive lack of self-consciousness, there was no question about the fact that he had something to talk about.

Intellectually he was rigid. He had no understanding for traditional Judaism. It belonged to the past, and the past was dead. America demanded progressive thinking. But even though he had no patience with the Judaism which the new immigrants brought with them,<sup>3</sup> he had all the compassion in the world for their plight as human beings and fellow Jews. The best years of his life were given to projects in their behalf—and when, in the final reckoning, most of these efforts ended in failure, his own disappointment was so deep that he felt his usefulness in Minnesota spent and he decided to leave. Into a pupil's album he wrote:

DEAR FRANCES: Your teacher and friend parts from you with a sad heart and will always remember you in love and affection. Be always a dutiful daughter and devoted sister and remember me also. May God bless you!

Always your true friend

DR. J. WECHSLER<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For a list of these articles see *infra*, Appendix E, pp. 313–314. On Wechsler's background see *AJYB*, 1903–1904 (5664), p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> See also Leo Shpall, "Jewish Agricultural Colonies in the United States," *Agricultural History*, vol. XXIV, (July, 1950), p. 135, who quotes Wechsler's comments on the "New Odessa" (Oregon) colonists. He scored them for their "communistic and religious ideas." Traditionalism to him was "the old way of a mistaken Orthodoxy." See also *AI*, Nov. 30, 1883.

<sup>4</sup> St. Paul, May 9, 1886. It was addressed to Frances Goodman (Heilbron), granddaughter of Kalmon Lion. The leaf was presented to the Temple Archives by her daughter, Miss Bertha Heilbron. For a more extensive account of Wechsler's activities, see W. Gunther Plaut, *op. cit.*, chapter 9, pp. 45 ff.



Even then, however, nearing the sixty-year mark, his courage was unimpaired. He went to the deep South, to Meridian, Mississippi, where he took the lead in behalf of better education for Negroes. He suffered public ignominy, was "trampled on, and laughed at"; yet "as any prophet, though his personal loss was hard, Rabbi Wechsler kept his conviction."<sup>5</sup> He had urged the inclusion of a Negro school in the city bond campaign, had contributed one thousand dollars of his own meager funds and here at last he succeeded. The school was built, one of the early brick edifices for Negroes in the South. To this day it is named after him.

Rabbi Wechsler is not a legend with us. Rabbi Wechsler is a movement, and his symbols of Truth, of Heritage and Self-Giving will be handed down from generation to generation of our people; to be preserved in our Ark of freedom and love.<sup>6</sup>

His last years were spent in Indianapolis where he died, totally blind, in 1905.

This then was, as a proud St. Paulite wrote, "the fortunate gentleman who was called here," in 1878. Two years later, when he and his wife observed their silver wedding anniversary, the community showed its appreciation and gratitude for his unusual attainments. Jews and non-Jews thronged his house.

The tables in the parlor were full of very costly and elegant presents and likewise gold and silver coins in abundance.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> From an address by Jennie Scott Crump, principal of Wechsler School, Meridian (n.d., about 1950), a truly moving tribute. There was a marked change from the attitude toward Negroes and the slavery question which Wechsler had held in earlier years. See Bertram W. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1951), p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *AI*, Nov. 26, 1880. Information on his last years is contained in a personal communication from Rabbi Morris Feuerlicht, Indianapolis, Indiana, dated July 26, 1955. For other personal data see *AJYB*, 1903-1904 (5664) p. 104; *MZM*, vol. II, March 18, 1878 (p. 127) and *passim*, until 1886; *AI*, July 4, 1879 (Wechsler notes that he had organized classes in LaCrosse, Wis.); June 17, 1881; Aug. 11, 1882; personal communications to the author by Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg and from Prof. Rollin G. Osterweis, New Haven, Conn., and Rabbi Peter Levinson, formerly of Meridian (1955). Further references found *infra*, chapter 14, p. 96, deal with his extensive activities in behalf of the immigrants to Minnesota. An eloquent testimonial to him written on the occasion of his departure from St. Paul is printed in *AI*, Sept. 24, 1886. It shows the deep affection in which he was held; see Appendix D, *infra*, p. 313.

A few days afterwards was Thanksgiving Day. Wechsler went over to Minneapolis and participated in the dedication of Shaarai Tov's new temple. He welcomed that congregation's new Rabbi, Henry Iliowizi, who was to share the fortunes and trials of Minnesota's next years with him.

Even amongst the state's much travelled immigrants, Iliowizi's road to Minnesota was long and unique. He was thirty years old at the time and had lived in many lands and climes. He was born near Minsk, in Russia, on January 2, 1850. His family was Hassidic and they had him study with one of the famous rabbis of the sect. Henry was evidently a boy of special gifts, for he soon was known as the "Minsker *Harif*" or "Minsker *Illuy*."<sup>8</sup>

At an early age he went travelling. His quest for an education led him first to Jassy in Rumania, then to German schools in Frankfurt am Main, Berlin and Breslau. The Anglo-Jewish Association became interested in him and brought him to London; next we find him in Paris under the auspices of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. He was teaching now and, in 1877, agreed to go to Morocco, where the Alliance needed a Jewish teacher in the city of Tetuan. The reports of his travels were published and widely read and remain a significant source of knowledge of this outpost of Jewish life.<sup>9</sup>

In 1880, Iliowizi came to the United States. He had probably received ordination at an early age; but not until he reached America did he turn to the rabbinical profession. After a short sojourn in Harrisonburg, Virginia, he accepted the call to Minneapolis.

The members who belonged to Shaarai Tov and Mount Zion were rather similar in background, but their rabbis were as different as could be imagined. Wechsler was a man of action, a doer even when he wrote, and in upbringing and sentiment a typical German Jew of his time. Iliowizi was a litterateur, an esthete, a

<sup>8</sup> The *Forward*, July 28, 1955 (p. 6) in an article by H. Lang. *Harif* means "sharp one" and refers to a man of keen mind; *illuy* is equivalent to "genius." His father's name is given as Elijah Skorow and his mother's as Dinah Moses. He was naturalized in Rumania under the name of Iliowizi. See *AJYB*, 1904-1905 (5665), pp. 121-122.

<sup>9</sup> "Sketches of Jewish Life in Tetuan," *Seventh Annual Report of the Anglo-Jewish Association*, quoted in *AI*, Oct. 29, 1880 (p. 149), which republished these articles at great length in several issues. See also his *From Morocco to Minnesota* (Philadelphia, 1888).

lover of drama and a dramatist himself, a thinker even when he did things, in upbringing a cosmopolitan, and in sentiment never forgetful of his East European background.

It is most likely that he had no practical acquaintance with Reform Judaism and knew of it only in theory and philosophy. In coming to Shaarai Tov he came to a congregation which was just taking its first steps in the direction of Reform. Soon the new rabbi was caught up in the spirit of the movement and took the lead for further changes. While in St. Paul the congregation still worshipped with their heads covered—an attempt by Rabbi Wechsler to have this altered had recently failed—Minneapolis had already made the wearing or non-wearing of the hat a matter of personal choice for congregants. The by-laws required only that the minister should wear a cap. This inconsistency was displeasing to Iliowizi's orderly mind. He directed a letter to his Board suggesting the abolition of this article. A congregational meeting agreed with him, but there was some opposition. A highly colored report of the whole matter found its way into *The Jewish Advance*, a Chicago paper which attacked Iliowizi with vigor.

To our modern notions of propriety, it is certainly very unbecoming to sit in a house of worship with the hat on. But it is more unbecoming to arouse acrimonious sentiments in a peaceful fraternity on account of such a question.<sup>10</sup>

This was only the opening shot. Next, Iliowizi was compared to Adolf Stöcker, the notorious Viennese anti-Semite; he was accused of calling the opposition "polakim" [a German-Jewish term for East-Europeans]; and the editor suggested that the rabbi be sent on a vacation to a place which advertised "No Hebrew Need Apply."<sup>11</sup>

President Edward Bernstein of Shaarai Tov replied, setting forth the facts and denying that the term "polakim" was ever used (it was a far-fetched accusation in any case, in view of the rabbi's own background). The Chicago editor was not impressed by the defense:

<sup>10</sup> *The Jewish Advance* (published in Chicago from 1878 to 1882), May 13, 1881.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*



The double play of his [Iliowizi's] position is affirmed. Having been converted to Reform views, he ought not begin his Reform agitations with insignificant triflings with non-essentials, but should learn for a few years yet what the duties of a Rabbi are and what a Minister — and if it be but an American Minister — ought to know.<sup>12</sup>

This too was gratuitous and far from the mark. For Iliowizi was not only an intellectual and a linguist of considerable attainments,<sup>13</sup> but he was also a Talmudist.<sup>14</sup> His congregation supported him overwhelmingly and re-elected him with a substantially increased salary. Wrote a correspondent:

This token of esteem and confidence is the best answer that could have been given to the reverend gentleman's detractors and slanderers.<sup>15</sup>

Iliowizi *was* a Reformer, but of the most moderate kind. He made few departures from tradition. Confirmation was introduced, and he officiated at a public conversion.<sup>16</sup> Iliowizi was as critical of Isaac M. Wise as he was of Chicago's Emil G. Hirsch and his Sunday services; these men were far too radical for him. He often preached on philosophic subjects. His Hebrew pronunciation was Sephardic, which in those days must have struck his congregation as very strange and unfamiliar. He recounted later how he once lost an opportunity for another position because of his accent. While he enjoyed the opportunities of the pulpit he felt that too much emphasis was laid on preaching. "Our most important pulpits," he wrote, "are not filled by our most important men."<sup>17</sup> He despised the habit of late-coming to services and complained:

Punctuality is a principle rarely honored in this land, and the Israelite is too patriotic to disregard this universal tendency.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, May 20, 1881; *AI*, May 27, 1881.

<sup>13</sup> His English style was elegant. In later years he wrote several dramas and other literary works. See *JE*, vol. VI, p. 559, for a bibliography of his writings. He used his knowledge of languages to supplement his income, as was the practice of his time and, while in Minneapolis, advertised to take boarders and instruct them in Hebrew and modern languages; *AI*, June 23, 1882.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, his responsum on circumcision, *CCAR Yearbook*, vol. II (Cincinnati, 1892), p. 124.

<sup>15</sup> *AI*, June 24, 1881.

<sup>16</sup> R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 25; *AI*, Nov. 30, 1883. The girl subsequently married a Jewish boy.

<sup>17</sup> *Through Morocco to Minnesota*, p. 88.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Though his Congregation was enormously fond of him, and though in 1882 he had married Matilda Flesh, a Minneapolis girl, there was not sufficient intellectual stimulation to hold him too long. He did not conceal his sense of frustration:

Here we are still, at the end of 1888, trying to create an oasis in a waste of Jewish disloyalty.<sup>19</sup>

He had come to the end of his eight years in Minneapolis. "Jewish disloyalty" was a pamphleteer's exaggeration. Neither his own members nor those of another new Minneapolis congregation, Adath Jeshurun, could be accused of such sentiments, nor could the many new immigrants from Eastern Europe whom Iliowizi helped to settle. He accepted the pulpit of Adath Jeshurun in Philadelphia and there ministered for twelve years. Then he left the rabbinate, wrote and travelled, returned to England to live in London, and died there in 1911.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>20</sup> *JE*, vol. VI, p. 559; *AJYB*, 1904-1905 (5665), pp. 121-122. There is also a highly apocryphical account in the *Forward*, July 28, 1955. In its present-day references it is entirely erroneous.

## *The Christian Neighbor*

RABBI SCHREIBER had made a significant statement when he had preached at the first services in the new Minneapolis Temple: We have erected a house of worship in Israel, not only to show that the Mother of Christianity is not to be despised although she is old. The Mother remembers well her duty to all of her daughters, inviting them to the universal shrine of worship.<sup>1</sup>

He had sounded the keynote for a new and commanding interest of the Jewish group: their concern for an adequate relationship with the non-Jewish world. Up to now this had largely been a question for each individual Jew to solve as best he could; to join the right kind of group, to be accepted where one wished to be, to take personal pride in Jewish achievement, and to suffer with its setbacks. But now the emphasis was shifted significantly. Henceforth Jews were visible as a group. Since the general community was developing more definite categories of social differentiation, religious groups within it were more clearly delineated and in turn became more zealous for their status. A process of class and group separation had set in which was the usual result of urbanization and the inevitable second stage of frontier settlement. Two Jewish houses of worship were proclaiming the differentness of the Jew; they gave him a stake in the social framework, a stake which had to be guarded and protected.

The information on Jews and Judaism which was dispensed to the Christians through churches, schools and newspapers was scanty. Often it was slanted, misleading and downright false, but on a few occasions it was a serious effort to do justice to the facts.

<sup>1</sup> R. Danenbaum, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 25. Schreiber is not mentioned as the preacher, but since he was in the pulpit, it was he most likely who gave the sermon.



Thus, a Minneapolis paper gave an adequate description of the Passover holy days,<sup>2</sup> and the *St. Paul Dispatch* had this to say on the celebration of *Yom Kippur*:

Last evening, the tenth day of Tishri, the great Jewish feast of *Yom Kippur* commenced, and will close at sundown this evening. During all these hours, our Jewish fellow-citizens will keep their places of business closed and go without eating or drinking. Atonement is made before God for their sins, and the dominion of the spirit over the body is declared by abstaining from all earthly enjoyments and occupying themselves exclusively with holy thought. The festival is considered the most holy of all the Jewish festivals during the year and, as a natural consequence, is more rigidly observed than any other by the chosen people of God.<sup>3</sup>

"Chosen people of God"—this sounded right to both Christian fundamentalists and to Jews; for Jews hearkening to the doctrines of Reform believed that they had a mission in this world: to demonstrate God's teachings to all the nations. No question about it: if anywhere, the mission would be fulfilled in free America.

Were there not Christians who eagerly attended synagogue services! The *St. Paul* correspondent who wrote to the *American Israelite* found this to be a step in the right direction: "All of which [he said] will tend greatly to do away with the prejudice which always exists in these small cities in the West."<sup>4</sup> The appearance of Rabbi Cohen, of Mount Zion, in the Unitarian pulpit and Reverend John R. Effinger's reciprocal appearance in the Temple, seemed important milestones to all concerned, and large crowds attended.<sup>5</sup>

Generally, however, fundamentalism was strong, and ignorance of Judaism was widespread. The Christian clergy did not know much more about Jews than did their flock. Especially was this notable in the smaller communities where Jews had migrated during the 1870's—communities too small to support organized Jewish life. Rabbi Judah Wechsler, who travelled a great deal around the state, felt that perhaps a circuit rabbi, supported by

<sup>2</sup> *MTrib*, Jan. 13, 1871.

<sup>3</sup> *SPD*, Sept. 21, 1874.

<sup>4</sup> *AI*, Jan. 26, 1872.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1875.

the new Union of American Hebrew Congregations, could alleviate the situation. He, himself, felt that he was welcome everywhere. In all localities he visited, churches were apparently readily and gladly put at his disposal, even though it might be a community in which the first signs of economic jealousy of the Jew manifested themselves.<sup>6</sup>

When he met with Christian audiences, Wechsler would be faced with questions such as these:

Do you still offer sacrifices?

When do you expect the Messiah?

Who is at present your High Priest?

The word "Jew" sometimes appeared in doubtful connotation. "Leah, or the Jewish Maiden's Curse," was advertised as a "sensational drama." The Opera House was packed when Melissa Breslau came to town to play it.<sup>7</sup> In a slightly malicious style, the German-Catholic press printed a dispatch entitled "Mourning in Israel." It dealt with the lament a "Hebrew leader" was said to have made over the non-observance of the Jewish holy days. *Hanukkah*, it was said, was hardly observed in New York. Temples and synagogues were sparsely attended or closed altogether. Orthodox and Reform Jews sat playing cards instead of listening to the deeds of the Maccabees or "danced around the New Golden Calf."<sup>8</sup> Twenty years later, Jews were chagrined to find that the local press had a description of the *Rosh Hashanah* services "all mixed in such a way as to make us appear ridiculous." Someone proposed "to either prohibit any description of our services, or if such must be paraded to the world, have it right by all means." But the error was based on ignorance, not ill will.<sup>9</sup>

The days of modern anti-Semitism were still in the future. Generally, relations between Jews and non-Jews were good. In

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1879; July 4, 1879 (seventy-five years later, the question of giving rabbinical service to smaller communities would still be without real solution, and was, in 1958, on the action program of the Minnesota Rabbinical Association). "For my part," Wechsler wrote, "I am willing to take the whole states of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and Dakota Territory." He organized classes in LaCrosse, Wisconsin, and went there regularly to teach them. (AI, July 4, 1879).

<sup>7</sup> SPP, March 30, 1872 (p. 4, col. 4).

<sup>8</sup> *Der Wanderer* [published in St. Paul], March 18, 1871 (p. 975).

<sup>9</sup> AI, Oct. 6, 1892.

fact, St. Paul's Jews found themselves in a remarkably favorable position.<sup>10</sup>

The question of reading the Bible in the public schools of the city arose as early as 1871. The matter was dropped with specific mention of safeguarding Jewish sentiment.<sup>11</sup>

Some years later, in 1884, the world-wide celebration of the one hundredth birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore gave emphasis to the sentiment St. Paul's leadership cherished for their Jewish neighbors. After early Friday evening services at the Temple, a banquet in honor of Montefiore was given at Cafe Brevoort. Chief Justice James Gilfillan of the state Supreme Court was in attendance, as were many ministers and other notables. The *Pioneer Press* editorialized at great length on the event and on Jews in general. Quoting Matthew Arnold, it emphasized that it was not majorities but remnants from which stemmed the great impulse which propels men and nations farthest toward their destiny. The Jewish minority, said the writer, was such a "remnant," whose latent energies had been directed into highly productive channels. It was a strongly philo-Judaic article and must have pleased the Jewish community enormously. It was copied and sent to the *American Israelite* for complete reprinting.<sup>12</sup> A few years later the Jews reciprocated and held special memorial services for the great Protestant preacher, Henry Ward Beecher.<sup>13</sup>

The surest proof of the Jewish position in St. Paul came in 1881 when Mount Zion made plans to erect its second house of worship. The new building was to replace the old frame structure and stand on the same site, at Tenth and Minnesota Streets. The Congregation had been part of the city for twenty-five years. Why not give the community an opportunity to participate in the building since it was an enterprise of civic nature? Thus, the Temple members made a bold attempt to solicit their Christian neighbors. The effort proved to be most successful; the results were nearly overwhelming. The Congregation itself had only

<sup>10</sup> Reasons for this will be analyzed in another chapter. See *infra*, chapters 37, pp. 266 ff., and 39, pp. 280 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Der Wanderer*, May 6, 1871 (p. 1035).

<sup>12</sup> *AI*, Nov. 7, 1884. Arnold set forth his thesis in "Numbers or the Majority and the Remnant," in *Discourses in America* (London, 1912), pp. 1-72.

<sup>13</sup> *AI*, March 18, 1887.



sixty-five members, but contributions from other St. Paulites counted in the hundreds. These came from business houses as well as from individual citizens. The leading names of St. Paul, indeed of Minnesota, were found on the list—from Alexander Ramsey to Henry Sibley; from General Cadwallader Colden Washburn to Governor Lucius F. Hubbard. Charles D. Gilfillan gave liberally, as did John Sanborn and Chauncey W. Griggs. Some donors sent special notes along. General Washburn wrote to Wechsler:

My best wishes follow you for the success of your Temple. Such a man, zealous minister as you are, ought to have support wherever love of religion is recognized. May God favor your work and may truth prevail.

The Reverend William C. Gannet of the Unitarian Church attended the dedication exercises and was so moved that he sent a donation.

We can be glad together [he wrote] that the same year sees two churches of the liberal faith established in our city . . . please accept \$25.00 as a small token of my personal esteem towards you as a noble man and faithful worker and good will to the cause you represent.<sup>14</sup>

Wechsler could justifiably state:

There is a very good spirit prevailing here in all denominations, and Mount Zion Congregation is well thought of by the best citizens.<sup>15</sup>

Most would have agreed that this was indeed the case, certainly to a more marked degree than in Minneapolis, where social distance between Jew and non-Jew was much greater. It was of no little significance that Macalester College, St. Paul's influential local school, offered a course in Hebrew and at an early date invited Rabbi Emanuel Hess to lecture on Homiletics and Bible.<sup>16</sup> Much public attention was directed a few years later to Julia Hess, the daughter of the St. Paul rabbi, who had given a prize-winning lecture at People's Church upon her graduation from High School.<sup>17</sup> Such small incidents began to appear large in

<sup>14</sup> Ms. by Wechsler, being a report on the completion of the building program (dated 1881); also a Record Book of Contributions, 1880–1881; both in MZA.

<sup>15</sup> *AI*, Nov. 30, 1883.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1899; Nov. 17 and Dec. 22, 1898.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, June 30, 1892.

the minds of Jews who became aware of narrowing American attitudes. The American Protective Association made its appearance in the final decades of the nineteenth century warning Americans of Catholics, Negroes and Jews. While the A. P. A., as it was popularly known, flourished but briefly, it left scars on the fabric of group relations.<sup>18</sup>

Christian-Jewish relations in St. Paul were further tested by the Dreyfus case. The condemnation, degradation and imprisonment of the French captain, the anti-Jewish outbursts which had attended the trials — all this was followed avidly in the European and American press. In St. Paul, the public was treated to an extensive reportage of the case as it unfolded, and the tone in which this was done was from the beginning intensely pro-Dreyfus. To be sure, this was not unique; other liberal papers throughout the world took the same point of view. It was important, however, that the local press took pains at all times to stress the anti-Semitic character of the affair. The very word anti-Semitism here found its first local use. Despite a considerable French population in St. Paul, the reports were uniformly pro-Jewish in sentiment. "Dreyfus has been accepted as a proper scapegoat because he is a Jew," was the recurrent theme.<sup>19</sup> Zola's condemnation aroused bitter sentiments — "a feeling of sadness as well as indignation" over the "blinding sandstorm of that anti-Semitic fury which for years past had been sweeping over continental Europe."<sup>20</sup> The news of a proposed anti-French boycott was received with sympathy when Dreyfus' second trial again ended in conviction. A public meeting was called at the Commercial Club. It was called by Christians, not Jews; and it

<sup>18</sup> Ray A. Billington, Bert J. Loewenberg and Samuel Brockunier, *The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective* (New York-Toronto, 1947), pp. 403 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *SPPP*, Jan. 26, 1898 (p. 4); see also issues of Jan. 16 (p. 1); Feb. 13 (p. 4), Feb. 24. See also *MTrib*, Jan. 11, 1898 (p. 2); Jan. 16, 1898 (p. 4); *Duluth Evening Herald* [=DEH], Jan. 15, 1898 (p. 1); Feb. 12, 1898 (p. 1); Feb. 23, 1898 (p. 1). All these, however, lacked the positive approach of the St. Paul paper. On the other hand, the *MT* was pro-Jewish in its approach; see, for example, Sept. 13 and 14, 1899, and the front page cartoon on Sept. 12th. The issue of Sept. 13th also contains a good description of the *Yom Kippur* festival.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1898. In *SPD* also a similar note was struck; see the long pro-Jewish article analyzing anti-Semitism throughout the world, Feb. 11, 1898 (p. 10); also Feb. 23rd, p. 1, when Zola was found guilty.

was a group of prominent Christians who participated in this genuine outpouring of public sentiment.<sup>21</sup> The Reverend Samuel Smith, well-known pastor of People's Church, preached a sermon on the subject which dwelt on the necessity of justice for the Jew as the foundation for all humanity.

Only the Catholic Church remained silent. It found itself in an embarrassing position. Whatever its leaders might have thought of the case as Americans, their public judgment of it was naturally cautioned by the deep involvement of the Church in the matter in France itself. For there, the clergy was openly siding with the Army in its nefarious schemes. In St. Paul, Archbishop John Ireland was interviewed by the press and stated that, while his sentiments were with Dreyfus, he would leave the affair to France.<sup>22</sup> He was roundly criticized for this ambivalent statement. The press editorialized on the rights of American public opinion and lectured the Bishop on the Jewish implications of the case.<sup>23</sup>

Dreyfus' exoneration, seven years later, evoked much elation. Again a public meeting was held at the Commercial Club. This time France was congratulated, and Rabbi Isaac Rypins was among those who were to draw up an appropriate resolution.<sup>24</sup> After introductory greetings and felicitations, the document declared:

The citizens of our republic have watched with profoundest interest the result of the trial of Captain Dreyfus. Our conviction, free from prejudices, would declare him innocent, and we are happy that the French Republic, in officially confirming the innocence of Captain Dreyfus, has given to her sister American nation the glittering evidence of her devotion to liberty, equality and fraternity.

Will you therefore permit us, the citizens of a free republic, sister [nation] of yours, to share your exultation, and to send to you our friendly salutations.<sup>25</sup>

French and English addresses were given, and the occasion was enlivened by the presence of a French Jew, a friend of

<sup>21</sup> *SPPP*, Sept. 14, 1899 (p. 4); see also issue of Sept. 12 (p. 4).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1899 (p. 4).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1899 (p. 4).

<sup>24</sup> On Rypins, see *infra*, chapter 28, pp. 211 ff.

<sup>25</sup> From a Ms. in possession of Mr. Justin Turner, published in *Intermountain Jewish News* (Denver, Col.), Sept. 30, 1955; also in *PAJHS*, vol. XLV, no. 4 (June, 1956), pp. 258-259.



Colonel Georges Picquart and Captain Dreyfus.<sup>26</sup> The press reported the climax of the case by headlining it: "Victim of Race Hatred Vindicated."<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile, closer to home, other events had taken place which focussed the eyes of the whole community on the problems of the Jew. In the early 1880's whole groups of so-called refugees began to arrive in ever increasing numbers. These new-comers meant to settle in Minnesota, and for the first time the question of absorption and integration arose.

<sup>26</sup> *SPD*, July 19, 1906 (p. 1), and July 20 (p. 16).

<sup>27</sup> *SPPP*, July 13, 1906 (p. 5).

## *The Refugees*

THE JEWS had never been happy in Czarist-dominated lands, but they had made the best of their second-class citizenship and had compensated for their depressed social, political and economic position by creating a rich inner life. The religious fervor of East European Jewry had plumbed new depths of spiritual experience. Its Talmudic academies, its newspapers, its language and its moral standards made Judaism the very marrow of its existence.

Occasionally, individuals had left this ambivalent world, which was outwardly prison and inwardly home, and had settled in America. A few of them had come to Minneapolis, a few more to St. Paul and had, like the Aaron Marks and Moses Calmensons, soon made their way in the new world.<sup>1</sup> The Jews from Eastern Europe were generally more meticulous in their observance of ritual than their German brethren; their services were

<sup>1</sup> Aaron Mark had been born Aaron Joseph in Vilna, in 1831, and (according to his daughter, Fannie Litman) had taken the name of a deceased cousin of his future wife, Bessie Mark, in order to avoid Czarist conscription. He was married in 1861, came to the States in 1871 and to St. Paul in 1873. At first he peddled, then opened a junk yard on Robert Street between 7th and 8th Streets, at the site where the Golden Rule department store now stands. His Aaron Mark Iron Works later combined with Calmenson into what was eventually to become the Paper Calmenson Steel Company, which in the 1950's was one of the large industrial establishments in the city. Aaron Mark died Aug. 31, 1905, and the Conservative synagogue in St. Paul, the Temple of Aaron, was named after him. Mrs. Mark was one of the most active and philanthropic women in the community: a President of the Bikur Cholim [*bikkur holim*] Society for thirty-seven years; a founder of the Jewish Home for the Aged and of the Jewish Educational Center. She died at the age of eighty-seven, on Dec. 21, 1922; see *SPPP*, Dec. 22, 1922; *AJW*, Dec. 26, 1930; Joseph A. A. Burnquist, *Minnesota and Its People*, (Chicago, 1924), 4 vols., vol. III, p. 340.

The Calmensons, who came to St. Paul at the same time, also made their contribution to the community. Among their family, Abe, Benjamin, Jesse and Rose (later Mrs. Harry Rosenthal) would occupy significant positions of Jewish leadership. See *infra*, chapters 31, 32, 40, pp. 232, 239, and 298.

held daily rather than weekly; they knew how to bake their own *mazzot* for Passover; and their wives still observed the requirements of *mikweh* and would, where one was not available, go out to Lake Gervais even during the winter and break the ice in order to perform the rites of purification.<sup>2</sup> Their homes were not located in any special section of town, and they were no more the object of charity or public attention than were the German Jews.

Suddenly, in 1881, conditions in Europe changed for the worse. New repressive laws were promulgated in Russia, following the assassination of Alexander II on March 13th. Pogroms flared up which set all of Eastern European Jewry into a state of physical and spiritual ferment. Fear for life and limb brought the process of economic disintegration, from which Jews especially had been suffering, to its frightening climax.<sup>3</sup> Soon whole families were on the move, then whole villages; and by 1910 Jews had come to America by the millions.

Minnesota felt the impact of these new immigrants at an early time. At first, their arrival caused unbelief, shock and dismay. For here were not immigrants in the usual sense—Minnesota was well used to immigrants—here were people in flight who still had the marks of persecution on their bodies.

Early in 1882, two hundred refugees (as they were then called) had arrived in St. Paul and had somehow been provided for, which was no small feat for the local Jewish families who numbered hardly more than those who had so suddenly been entrusted to their care. In July, there were thirty-five additional arrivals. St. Paul Jews raised \$2,000.00 and made the sum go as far as possible. Minneapolis had accepted only eight refugees and was already wondering how to handle the situation.

We have gathered \$360.00 and have formed a Relief Society, having spent more than half this amount, and are at a loss how to deal with the problem without some advice and material aid from the East.<sup>4</sup>

A few days later, without giving notice, the railroad brought two hundred more people in a single day. The Mansion House Committee in London had determined that these Jews should go

<sup>2</sup> Told by Mrs. Fannie Litman (oral report, 1955).

<sup>3</sup> This dual cause for Russian-Jewish emigration was stressed by Oscar Handlin, *Adventure in Freedom* (New York, 1954), pp. 80 ff.

<sup>4</sup> AI, June 9, 1882.



to St. Paul—and here they were, on July 14, 1882, on the eve of the Sabbath, without food, without money and in many cases with hardly enough clothing to take care of bare necessities. They had no shelter to see them through the night. No one had known of their arrival. Not until three days later did Mayor Edmund Rice receive a telegram from the Lord Mayor of London:

Please help to secure work for Russian immigrants, arriving.<sup>5</sup>

There was as yet no question of work. What was needed was basic, primary relief.

A pitiful sight yesterday to see . . . so many small children and some of the ladies in delicate health. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Two hundred loaves of bread were obtained, but no one realized how starved the arrivals really were. They seized the bread, for whose orderly distribution no provision had been made, so eagerly that “it made many men heartsick who were eye witnesses.”<sup>7</sup> Rabbi Wechsler and Hannah Austrian went to obtain some help from the Mayor and the Chamber of Commerce. The newspaper made a warm and humane appeal to the public to provide clothing and, later, work for these people.

This is the first time that the Hebrew people in the cause of charity have been compelled to issue a call for assistance. Let it be nobly responded to, and with the least delay possible.<sup>8</sup>

The refugees were housed in the Railroad Immigrant House on Broadway, near Third. One fourth of their number were children. Not one spoke English. The Rabbi's wife and some of her friends went down and cooked for the newcomers. The city's Jews met at the Standard Club and subscribed an additional five hundred dollars.<sup>9</sup> However, other help was needed and was forthcoming at once. Mayor Rice called a special meeting of the City Council and requested aid. Everyone agreed with him in criticizing those

<sup>5</sup> St. Paul *Daily Globe* [=SPG], July 18, 1882 (p. 2, col. 3). On the activities of the Mansion House (later: Russo-Jewish) Committees, see *JE*, vol. VIII, p. 297; Simon Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1925–1929), vol. X, pp. 248 ff.

<sup>6</sup> SPG, July 16, 1882 (p. 1, col. 7).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, July 17, 1882 (p. 4, col. 3).

who had been responsible for sending human carloads to the end of the line, there to be left to the good will of kindly folk.

While I think it reprehensible and cruel in the extreme [he said in his message], to have sent these unfortunate people [without notice or funds] . . . we must consider their condition as it is. Several of their number are sick, none have any bedding . . .

The Hebrew Societies have never before been obliged to call upon any but their own race and creed for assistance, but because of recent strain are now financially unable.<sup>10</sup>

The help which the Council approved for these "sorrowing refugees" had, he said, his own "cordial approval, and I trust that of the entire community also."<sup>11</sup>

The situation was indeed very bad. The refugees had been thoroughly demoralized by the long trip, by the lack of food and medical care. Their present condition was a liability to both Jew and non-Jew and a severe test of relations between them. The reporter from Minneapolis heard rumors which were not always pleasant. They supplemented the scenes he had watched and found "shocking." An onlooker who was familiar with neither the background of the refugees nor their recent trials wondered whether they had "all fine feelings starved out of them," or whether they were

the worst lot of selfish mendicants. Some are inclined to the latter view, being prejudiced against Jews generally and shocked by the rags and dirt adhering to this party.

Some claimed, he said, that similar people, after being searched in New York, were found to be in possession of considerable funds.

But the general opinion in which our Jewish residents are unanimous, is that these people are really destitute.<sup>12</sup>

Once the first few days had passed the problem seemed easier of solution. The refugees were moved to Franklin School, and after they had been afforded the basic requirements of hygiene and had been given clothes, they were transformed, an observer

<sup>10</sup> St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings*, 1882, pp. 228-229.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Mtrib*, July 18, 1882, (p. 4, col. 6).

stated, "from untidy immigrants to bright and cleanly American citizens."<sup>13</sup> A barber was brought in to cut the children's hair, much to the dismay of many parents whose religious scruples were offended by the procedure.<sup>14</sup> Prominent citizens, including General Richard W. Johnson, visited the make-shift sheltering house and made cash contributions. The city had given \$500.00 and the use of a school; the Mayor's emergency fund, \$100.00; the Governor, \$50.00; and the Chamber of Commerce, \$500.00, all in addition to moneys from Jewish sources. Soon thereafter the labor market claimed the immigrants, and they were on their own. Many a small community saw its first Jewish settlers during these days: eleven of the immigrants went to do railroad work in Cable, Wisconsin; nine to Crookston for grading; six to other places on the railroad; and six went to a farm in Wells. Others soon found work in their own special lines, for amongst them were fifteen carpenters, ten cigar makers, five wood turners and ten cabinet makers.<sup>15</sup>

Thus large-scale immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe into Minnesota had started with a shock. The Jews could be grateful for the response they had received from their neighbors, but no one wished a repetition of the strain to which the community had been subjected. Since the Lord Mayor and Mansion House of London were far away, St. Paul's City Council took precautionary action where it could and notified the railroads that the law concerning the importation of paupers would henceforth be strictly enforced.<sup>16</sup> Still, after a while most people had forgotten the incident. Some years later, at the time of the Kishineff pogroms, monetary help was asked again of them. Again, many Christians in town contributed generously.

For the resident Jewish community, however, the arrival of so many new Jews in St. Paul was bound to have a profound effect. There was more involved than the financial strain, although this

<sup>13</sup> *SPG*, July 19, 1882 (p. 2, col. 4).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* The Biblical law against cutting the corners of the hair's natural growth caused many Jews to let their earlocks (*pe'ot*) grow (*Leviticus* 19:27).

<sup>15</sup> *MTrib*, July 18, 1882 (p. 4, col. 6); *SPG*, July 17, 1882 (p. 4, col. 2); see also issue of July 19, 1882, where thanks is expressed at the conclusion of the work. The paper makes much of the fact that many immigrants were formerly well-to-do and had been robbed and despoiled by the Russians.

<sup>16</sup> Common Council, *Proceedings*, 1882, p. 233.



had been severe enough. Rabbi Wechsler, who had done much for the arrivals, wrote in retrospect:

Humanity and a common duty to care for the unfortunate refugees prompted us to do all that was possible for these people. We have spent the last cent which we could collect in this emergency.

My congregation has but 50 members, none of them wealthy. There is in existence also in St. Paul a Polish congregation, but it is altogether unable to assist these refugees. Imagine, therefore, 50 members to care for nearly 600 refugees. No censure is strong enough to disapprove of the action of the London Committee to send so many refugees to St. Paul.<sup>17</sup>

Once the newcomers had settled, the character of the Jewish community was automatically and irrevocably transformed. Their arrival had three major consequences:

1. There was now a Jewish social welfare problem which grew in proportion as other immigrants kept coming year after year.

2. There was now a community of far greater complexity, which demanded and created new institutions.

3. The new immigrants formed in effect a community of their own which absorbed the older Jewish settlers of East European background, and this new community would for the next generation develop parallel to that of the "German" group.

<sup>17</sup> AI, Aug. 11, 1882.

## *Painted Woods*

THE SENTIMENTS of some of the older settlers with regard to the large-scale Eastern Jewish immigration were quite mixed,<sup>1</sup> but once the newcomers had arrived, their American brethren spared neither time nor money to care for their needs. Almost all immigration went first to the larger cities; little was channeled into the rural districts, and even less into farming proper. Many viewed this urban concentration with displeasure and even anxiety. Was the Jew forever to continue his mercantile, intermediary occupations? Was he, even in this new and wide-open country, to remain foreign to the soil? Why not make a determined effort to settle the refugees on government claims and have them farm their own lands? Here was an opportunity which had never been proffered in Europe and there was every reason to assume that many would gladly grasp it here.

Wechsler was one of those who believed this to be an excellent solution for all concerned. It would be the opening wedge for Jewish occupational re-distribution, and it would, at the same time, relieve the pressure on the comparatively small Jewish communities in Minnesota who were judged unable to absorb large numbers of new-comers.

Possibly at his insistence, the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society sent an investigator, Julius Goldman, from New York, to study the possibilities of organized colonization. Goldman's report was cautious, realistic, and devoid of over-optimism.<sup>2</sup> He found the challenges of the Northwest formidable. "Only . . . brave men

<sup>1</sup> See *Israelitische Wochenschrift*, vol. I (1870), p. 72; Rudolf Glanz, "Source Materials on Jewish Immigration," in *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vol. VI (New York, 1951), pp. 73-156, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Julius Goldman, *Report on the Colonization of Russian Refugees in the West* (Hebrew Emigration Aid Society: New York, 1882).

and families will meet these requirements," he wrote.<sup>3</sup> Bishop John Ireland, who had been confronted with similar problems of resettling Catholic immigrants, gave Goldman help and advice. There was land to be had, good land, at three to seven dollars per acre. A tract of 250,000 acres was available in southwestern Minnesota. Goldman was impressed and he was ready to recommend this land to any farmer who cared to come. But he strongly advised the New York Office not to undertake large-scale settlement and especially did he warn against co-operative or "Communitistic" planning. Settlers were to be individuals who made farming their business and did not consider it a means of receiving charity.<sup>4</sup> But Wechsler would not be dissuaded.

Man of action that he was, he together with Julius Austrian obtained a grant in Burleigh County, North Dakota, near Painted Woods, on the Missouri River, and there settled eleven families in the spring of 1882. In doing this he started a project the proportions of which neither he nor the people who had to support it, were able to foresee.

Painted Woods—or "Wechsler's Painted Woods"—as the colony was called, was one of the early planned Jewish settlements in the country.<sup>5</sup> It consisted of settlers from Russia who had elected to take advantage of the land grant. In fact, Wechsler credited the colonists themselves with the first initiative. St. Paul had other plans for them; however, "nothing but land could satisfy them, and we finally yielded to their requests."<sup>6</sup> They were not part of the group which had reached Minnesota in July in such pitiful condition, but had come earlier that year.

At first things seemed to go rather well. Six hundred to eight hundred dollars per family would be needed. Since the money could not be raised at home because of the sudden influx of additional refugees, Wechsler turned to the national Jewish community with a stirring appeal. Money came in from B'nai B'rith lodges, synagogues, ladies' auxiliaries, individuals rich and poor, and from benefactors such as Jacob H. Schiff and Myer Samuel

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

<sup>5</sup> A similar venture was started in Kansas by the Cincinnati Jewish community at about the same time. This was the ill-fated Beer Sheba Colony; see L. Shpall, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>6</sup> *AI*, Aug. 11, 1882.



Isaacs. Contributions were acknowledged by Wechsler as President of the newly formed "Hebrew Aid and Emigrant Society of St. Paul."

The much criticized London and Berlin Committees also contributed. Yesterday's bitter strictures on their policies were now forgotten. "We will ever be grateful," wrote Wechsler, "to these generous committees for their timely aid in behalf of these poor people."<sup>7</sup>

At the time of its first anniversary the colony had made a name for itself wherever Jewish papers were read. Not only in Russia, but also in Germany the St. Paul experiment attracted attention. About a hundred persons were now settled at Painted Woods, which could be reached by a good horse in a six-hour ride from Bismarck, or by boat to a landing one mile away.

According to Wechsler the colony was a "glowing opportunity." There were additional applicants who desired to go. But since only half of the settlers were self-sustaining, and since St. Paul's Jews were now paying most of the bill, preference was given to resettlement cases out of St. Paul, a fact which aroused a good deal of critical comment in the European press.<sup>8</sup>

Wechsler made the Jews of St. Paul aware that the project was now their own responsibility. They served on committees to purchase clothing and implements for farming and, as circumstances in Painted Woods worsened, food also. The colony was running into stormy weather. Wechsler, as he did often during those days, went there laden with provisions. He offered them advice. While he continued to report at great length on his journeys, his letters to the *American Israelite* began to reflect his first doubts over the fate of the project. But he knew that matters had gone too far to turn back. Too many people were deeply committed to seeing the settlement through.

The colony ceased growing after a hard winter. Calamities seemed to multiply. There were crop failures, a disastrous prairie fire almost destroyed all dwellings. During the best year, in 1884,

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, March 9, 1883 (p. 302). Larger sums came from the Baron de Hirsch Fund (\$2,000); Berlin Committee (\$3,700); Mansion House Committee, London (\$6,000); Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris (\$1,000); another Paris committee (\$1,000). See *AI*, Oct. 16, 1884.

<sup>8</sup> *Hameliz*, vol. VIII, no. 18 (March, 1884), pp. 321-322.

there were 54 families, each owning 160 acres.<sup>9</sup> A township was plotted and was to be called Nudelman, after one of the families (possibly the moving force among them) and was to have a Wechsler Street as its major thoroughfare. But this plan never saw fruition. However, a school district was established and is called Montefiore to this day.

In 1885, the crops failed again. People started to move away. Wechsler and Austrian, neither of them exactly youngsters, gathered several carloads of potatoes, meat and other necessities, borrowed freight cars and a locomotive from the Great Northern Railroad and rode the makeshift train once more to the scene of their hopes. They did not like what they saw. Notwithstanding the encouragement they received from Jewish and Christian merchants in Bismarck, as well as from the *Bismarck Tribune*,<sup>10</sup> they found the colonists themselves despairing. The Jewish settlers seemed to be on bad terms with their neighbors. Many still lived together in mudhuts and temporary dwellings, and many had not gone out to work on their own claims. There was contention in their own midst.

Even Wechsler began to lose heart. There were increasing reports about the quality of the settlers, their fitness for farming, their ability to progress while they received support from St. Paul, and about anti-Semitic feelings which had developed in the area.<sup>11</sup> Still, the colonists had 1,400 acres under cultivation; they

<sup>9</sup> See Bernard Starkoff, "The American Jew in Agriculture; History and Present Condition" (rabbinical thesis, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1940). The number mentioned in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* [=AZJ], April 22, 1884 (p. 272), is 312, which should refer to individuals, not families. The latter account is interesting because of the tribute paid Wechsler and the St. Paul Jewish community whose financial sacrifices are here recounted.

<sup>10</sup> Asa Fisher, President of the First National Bank, commented: "They are all industrious, hard-working people and worthy of all the aid asked." See *AH*, Nov. 5, 1886 (p. 197). The *Bismarck Tribune* [=BT] was a good friend of the colony from the beginning. See issue of June 6, 1882, quoted by Mary Ann B. Williams, *Pioneer Days of Washburn, North Dakota and Vicinity* (Washburn, 1936), p. 18. It welcomed the settlers who were "pleased with the country," and glad to be away from Russia where they were "oppressed beyond endurance."

In 1958, Rose Lenit (a lady in her eighties, writing from Chicago) who was reared at Painted Woods, recalled the hardships with which the settlers were confronted. She also remembered that they baked their own *mazzot* (letter in possession of the author).

<sup>11</sup> The characterization of the colonists varied. Some Jewish visitors believed them to be a group with few adaptive qualities and not suited for pioneering. "Inferior class" — "bad behavior" — "constant quarreling" — were some of the

had 53 horses, 56 oxen, 61 cows, 86 calves, and some had houses and barns. But the destructive drought of 1886 ended all hopes. Mortgages were due and could not be paid. Debts mounted to over five thousand dollars, and once again, St. Paul's Jewish citizens were called on to assist. They sent the money and additional farm implements to save what could be saved. When the summer was over, it was evident that the crops would fail.

This was the end. Another desperate appeal was made for the colonists. Their willingness to see the project through was stressed, their misfortunes were detailed. The national office of the Immigrant Agricultural Aid Society appointed an investigations committee, but it never functioned.<sup>12</sup>

No one was more disillusioned than Wechsler. He had given some of the best years of his life to an idea. He had seen it to near-success, and he, more than anyone else, was aware of the tragic side of the story. He knew the settlers, their hopes, their desperate labors. Their defeat was his defeat. He also knew that he had urged St. Paul's Jews, and especially the members of his Congregation, to an extraordinary effort and to considerable sacrifices. In five years they had spent over thirty thousand dollars for Painted Woods. It had been spent on a dream. Wechsler may have felt that he himself bore a major share of the responsibility and that, under the circumstances, his service in St. Paul ought to be terminated. In 1886, he resigned his pulpit. To be sure, he continued to plead for the colony even from his new post in

---

comments. See *AH*, Aug. 29, 1884; *AI*, Nov. 16, 1883. Some said that the colonists looked constantly for assistance, but this was denied by others. See George Price, *The Russian Jew in America*, p. 58, quoted by L. Shpall, *op. cit.*, p. 138; *Niedielnaya Khronika Voskhoda*, Feb. 17, 1885 (p. 198), quoted by L. Shpall, *op. cit.*, p. 138, n. 101. Comments of their neighbors varied from pity to near-enmity. At one time twenty-five farmers on adjacent lands requested the removal of the colony; M. A. B. Williams, *Washburn*, p. 20. "Poor, oppressed, ignorant peasant class, uneducated, inexperienced and utterly lost in their new freedom from serfdom," was one appraisal (*ibid.*, p. 19). The Jewish settlers had many children and seemed old even at thirty-five; they had no competent leadership. "They quarrelled among themselves and with their American neighbors, by whom they were often misused, reproached and despised." (*Ibid.*). They felt that they were objects of charity. This proved a disastrous deterrent to their independence and initiative. Few if any had had previous farming experience. All in all, the experiment was foredoomed to failure; but before it failed much heartache and disappointment were created both in Painted Woods and in St. Paul.

<sup>12</sup> *Jewish Gazette*, Nov. 25, 1886; *Niedielnaya*, April 6, 1888 (quoted by L. Shpall, *op. cit.*, p. 138).



Meridian, Mississippi, and once contemplated another journey, but floods held him back. In effect, his leaving the Northwest signalled the ultimate dissolution of the settlement.<sup>13</sup>

The settlers drifted away; only a few remained. By 1901, three farmers were left in the area. Then a revival occurred. Five years later, forty-two homesteads were counted, and while headquarters in New York discouraged North Dakota settlements, a new high point was reached in 1912 when 250 families possessed about five thousand acres which were valued at half a million dollars. Some of the farms were in the old Painted Woods district. However, the old name and identification of the settlements had long disappeared.<sup>14</sup>

To the Jews of St. Paul, Painted Woods had meant more than a mere expenditure of funds, for it had been a major test in communal effort. The Painted Woods episode also focalized the essentially ambivalent attitude of the German Jews toward the Eastern immigrants. Wechsler described the sentiment concisely:

The fact remains — they are among us. They are our kindred, and it is our duty to elevate them to a higher place to become good citizens of this country.<sup>15</sup>

To criticism that these desires did not spring from pure motives, he replied:

Let nobody argue that we are not interested in their welfare. What enables one Israelite to elevate the other, and what degrades one lowers in the same degree the standing of the other.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> On the deep impression his service had made on St. Paul, see *infra*, Appendix D, p. 313.

<sup>14</sup> Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society, *Report of 1901* (Chicago), pp. 12–14; Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, *Report of 1907* (New York), pp. 14–15. See Richard Singer, "The American Jew in Agriculture; Past History and Present Condition" (rabbinical thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1941), pp. 405–406 and 420; Marvin S. Kirk, "A Study of the Jews' Contribution to Land Settlement and Land Credit" (master's thesis, North Dakota State College of Agriculture), p. 44, quoted by B. Starkoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38. According to Kirk there were five reasons for failure in most colonies: 1. farmers had no knowledge of farming; 2. insufficient means of support until self-sufficiency was reached; 3. therefore, exposure to excessive rates of interest; 4. poor location, inconvenient market, poor soil, subject to drought, hail storm and prairie fires; 5. many colonists knew some trade or business, and when things became difficult took advantage of this knowledge and left for the city.

For further literature on Painted Woods see Appendix E, *infra*, pp. 313–314.

<sup>15</sup> *AI*, March 9, 1883 (p. 302).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

"Elevate them to a higher place"—this was the crux of the matter. The German Jews were genuinely concerned with the Eastern immigrant, but their concern was paternalistic, not egalitarian, in nature. To them, the word "Russian" often meant uneducated or backward, and sometimes it expressed other degrees of alleged inferiority. In addition, the constant demands on the small Jewish community produced a considerable strain, for its fifty older families<sup>17</sup> had just recently built a Temple. The needs of the immigrants were assessed in various ways.

The Russian Jews first and foremost need physical restoration, which they can find on the American prairies and forests. The atmosphere, the exercise, the food, and the feeling of security and liberty to be found there will restore and invigorate the immigrants.<sup>18</sup>

Others were less sanguine or were convinced that the facts bore out their personal bias:

With the exception of a few, and let me say but very few, they will never make farmers, or will ever be able to support themselves on farms, and I'm really sorry that so much money has been spent for that purpose, for I think sooner or later it will be the same with them as with the Virginia colony. In my mind it is only a question of time and from what I can learn, these people are only fit for peddling or trading, or some other similar work, which they can easily obtain about cities and support themselves without any trouble as they can live on a very small income and according to their own usage.<sup>19</sup>

Wechsler felt them to be his wards. He talked to them like a mentor and exerted himself in their behalf like a guardian. A composite picture of the colony, prepared in the early days, shows Wechsler as the father of what was described as "The Russian Jewish Farmer Settlement Wechsler."<sup>20</sup> "I gave them some wholesome advice, which they promise to obey," he wrote on one occasion.<sup>21</sup> He was their arbiter, their source of sustenance; he was their Rabbi. Their practices were not his, but he did not

<sup>17</sup> In 1881, Mt. Zion listed forty-eight member families, the Sons of Jacob, thirty. *SPDir*, 1881-1882, p. 41.

<sup>18</sup> *AI*, Oct. 5, 1883 (p. 4).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1884. Their "frugal and simple" habits were especially noted; see *ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1882 (p. 63).

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix E, *infra*, p. 314.

<sup>21</sup> *AI*, May 25, 1883. See also M. A. B. Williams, *Washburn*, p. 20, about Wechsler's relations to the settlers.

suggest that they change their religious ways. They had their own synagogue whose services reflected their own traditions. Wechsler wrote all the way to England's Sir Moses Montefiore to obtain a *sefer torah* for the colony.

St. Paul, March 10, 1885

TO SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE

In answer to your kind postal I wish to state that I have up to date not received any ספר תורה [*sefer torah*]. Some of my colonists of Painted Woods have requested your kind help to send one of them, & they would be very happy to receive it. I hope the ספר תורה will arrive soon, & I will notify you at once when such is the case.

May a kind Providence bless & preserve you yet for many, many years! All Israel is interested in your welfare.

Very Truly

REV. DR. J. WECHSLER

40 Canada St. St. Paul, Minn.

U.S.<sup>22</sup>

Under Wechsler's guidance his own St. Paul congregants had done much. They were keenly aware of the differences in background and religious practices which separated them from the newcomers, but they supported their Rabbi completely until their devoted effort in human reconstruction had run its fateful course. Other such attempts followed in the years to come and were crowned by greater and sustained success.

<sup>22</sup> Manuscript in Ms. Collection of American Jewish Archives, vol. XIII, no. 420, p. 47.



## *Devil's Lake*

AT THE same time when Painted Woods was first settled, other areas in the Northwest had also been opened up for the new immigrants. With the help of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, colonists had established themselves west of Grand Forks, near the Minnesota border, in an area generally known as Devil's Lake.<sup>1</sup> In July, 1882, just as the second great wave of refugees was coming to Saint Paul, the colony was attracting its first public notice. A post office bore the proud name of New Jerusalem, and conditions for settlement appeared promising.<sup>2</sup> But already in December the picture had changed.

There are 22 Russian Jews in Devil's Lake country, whose situation in view of the cold winter is extremely perilous. They live in poor mud-houses, 16 miles from timber and are inexperienced, thoughtless and extremely poor. An effort is being made in Grand Forks to raise funds for their relief.<sup>3</sup>

For the next few years nothing further was heard from the settlers. Some of them moved away and others joined with a few new arrivals in 1886-1887 in founding another colony nearby, at Iola, twenty miles north and east of Devil's Lake. The "new arrivals" were settlers from Painted Woods who had abandoned that failing colony during the winter and who were hardy enough to begin once more, this time under somewhat improved conditions. The two groups were joined by other newcomers who brought some funds of their own. These people had for the last

<sup>1</sup> It can be located about six miles east of the present village of Garske, a town some fifteen miles north of Devil's Lake.

<sup>2</sup> *SPG*, July 20, 1882 (p. 1).

<sup>3</sup> M. A. B. Williams, *Washburn*, pp. 19-20, quoting *BT*, Dec. 10, 1882. The reference could not be checked further since this particular issue is missing from the files of the North Dakota Historical Society.

few years lived in the city — probably in St. Paul or Minneapolis — and had dreamed of farming their own soil.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, the first summer crop at Iola was poor and the subsequent winter one of extreme severity. The settlers needed help. Their Gentile neighbors collected some funds for them and purchased tickets for two of the leaders of the Jewish enclave to go to Saint Paul for help. In the early winter days of 1888 the delegation arrived — and at this point Devil's Lake became part of the social welfare program of the Twin Cities' Jewry.

The delegates were well recommended by six of Devil's Lake's "most prominent citizens [who] gave them letters which set forth their needs and entire worthiness."<sup>5</sup> The two went first to the Sons of Jacob Congregation in St. Paul where they had relatives and friends from the old country; but the funds which they could obtain there were not of the magnitude needed for the replenishment of the colony. They turned to Mount Zion and here too could not obtain the help for which they had come. For the Reform Congregation had just concluded four years of heart-breaking experiments with Painted Woods, and was neither financially nor psychologically ready to take on Devil's Lake as a further project in philanthropy and social planning. Moreover, Emanuel Hess, the new Rabbi of Mount Zion, was just assuming his duties and was a stranger to the situation. Small amounts only were contributed, and it may be presumed that one of Mount Zion's members made the obvious suggestion: Why not try Minneapolis? That community had grown almost miraculously; its Jews were prospering and had assumed no responsibility for Painted Woods. Contacts were made for the delegates. They went across the river and found Minneapolis to be ready for its first contribution to the cause of Jewish reconstruction.

Jacob Harpman and Joseph Kantrowitz took the leadership. They made a trip to the colony to gain first-hand information. The conditions they found were appalling. Little children, they noticed, had neither shoes nor stockings, "trying to keep warm on the sunny side of the house." People heated their houses with dried manure instead of wood. Harpman was most emphatic in

<sup>4</sup> Jewish Agricultural Aid and Immigrant Society, *Report of 1903*, pp. 10-13; B. Starkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 35; *AI*, Nov. 23, 1888.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

warning the people in Minneapolis and in the nation—for soon he too appealed to the larger audience—that matters were as serious as could be imagined:

All reports stating that their condition is not as bad as published are from people who are interested in concealing the true state of affairs, their object being to counteract the possible result on immigration and capitalists.<sup>6</sup>

Harpman also found increasing prejudice amongst the colony's neighbors, who evidently did not like the publicity given to their area.

A "Dakota Relief Committee" was founded, with Harpman as Treasurer. Jews from St. Paul co-operated, but this time the initiative and leadership came from Minneapolis. The local and national appeals were successful; the St. Paul and Manitoba Railway Company transported all gifts free of charge to the colony. The shipment was large enough to avert all immediate danger: 1,300 pounds of flour, barrels of beans and rice, four cases of clothing, wood for heating, seeds for spring planting. "There is now enough and to spare for present needs," the Treasurer reported.<sup>7</sup> As in the case of Painted Woods, collections came from all over the country, from Jews and Gentiles, from B'nai B'rith lodges and agricultural societies from east and west. San Francisco's Jews were most generous; their contributions amounted at the first reckoning to \$1,135.65—a sizable sum. Jews in the Twin Cities also responded, and St. Paul's Jews once more practiced the habit of generous giving, this time urged on by Solomon Bergman who had assumed the local chairmanship.<sup>8</sup> By December, St. Paulites had contributed \$800.00. They felt that Minneapolis, except for supervising the collections, had far from done its own share.

A bitter controversy ensued. Harpman defended the honor of Minneapolis and proceeded to an attack on St. Paul's sluggishness. Bergman took up the cudgels for his own city. The battle raged in the pages of the now nationally-read *American Israelite*.<sup>9</sup> St. Paul charged lack of cooperation; it was incensed over the

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, also Oct. 26, 1888.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1889; also Jan. 17, 1889.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 30 and Dec. 14, 1888.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 17 and 31, Feb. 21, April 4, 1889.



fact that Minneapolis had gone to non-Jews for help before turning to St. Paul, and felt that the Minneapolis approach was "making beggars of the Devil's Lake colony." The debate grew in acrimony and then suddenly subsided in the face of the real problem. Colonists began to leave, and after some time only a few remained. It appeared that the drama of Painted Woods had been enacted all over again. There was even an implication of political chicanery. It was charged that some funds which had been contributed to other public agencies—for the Jews were not the only ones in need of help—never reached their intended recipients. Moneys remitted to the Governor of North Dakota and to the *New York Herald Tribune* were said not to have found their proper destination.<sup>10</sup>

However, a few settlers held out and, in 1892, were joined by others. Again they turned to the Twin Cities, and again—as if the rivalry between the twins had merely been hibernating—at this first new instance of charitable opportunity the quarrel broke out into the open once again. St. Paul was charged with "icy indifference."

The St. Paul Committee is very selfish in this particular; it will not divide the honor of bestowing relief to needy ones with Minneapolis, but with most wonderful disinterestedness, relegates all the honor and expense thereof to Minneapolis. Religion no doubt has a front and a back stairs, and you may take your choice. The St. Paul committee prefer to sneak up the back stairs, because "Schoda — es kost nicks."<sup>11</sup> The letter was signed "Mt. Sinai." St. Paul's defender replied in kind:

I would like to ask "Mt. Sinai" why, if he is so filled with the "precepts which constitute the redemption of man," he is so anxious to have St. Paul share them. He should make a martyr of himself in the good cause and set a glorious example to the heathens 'round about.<sup>12</sup>

We have no particulars on the outcome of the controversy, but, since it was conducted "in the name of heaven," there was a good ending to the story. For despite bitter obstacles, outrageous interest rates and often abject conditions with which the settlers

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1889.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, July 7, 1892. The last expression is a south-German provincialism meaning, "Look here, it costs nothing!"

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, July 21, 1892.

had to cope, the colony persisted.<sup>13</sup> Ten years later it was definitely a success. Farmer Philip Greenberg reported on behalf of the colonists in 1901:

We had a very good crop this year and all of the Jewish farmers were greatly benefited by the threshing machine which the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society of New York placed here. All of the farmers threshed in good season. This is the first time that the crop of the Jewish farmers has been threshed before November since they have been here.<sup>14</sup>

The settlement was still in existence in 1912, and at that time was the Northwest's oldest Jewish farm settlement. It had a full community life. A part-time rabbi from Grand Forks served the settlement; and for a while it had its own full-time rabbi and teacher.<sup>15</sup> By the mid-twenties, however, the families had drifted away. The children had gone to the cities, and only a cemetery was left as a memorial to the men and women who had first conquered this land and to their brethren in the Twin Cities who had helped them in their labors.

There were further colonies in South and North Dakota in which Twin Cities' Jews had some stake,<sup>16</sup> but there were still other settlers much closer to home.

Jacob H. Schiff, who had contributed much to farm settlements, began in 1891 a notable correspondence with Minnesota's Empire Builder, James J. Hill. He urged him to do something for the refugees and hoped that Hill

would at an early date look carefully into the practicability of settling a number of families in eastern Minnesota, near large towns, where market gardening and small farming can be made a sure success by people who have not had much experience as farmers.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The settlers slept on straw piles and had to drink slough water; B. Starkoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36, quoting M. S. Kirk.

<sup>14</sup> Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society, *Report of 1901, op. cit.*, p. 14 (reported by A. A. Levy, Secretary, Jan. 6, 1902).

<sup>15</sup> Recollection of an old settler, Myer R. Shark, Jan. 22, 1953 (Ms. in possession of Mr. Bernard Postal, New York).

<sup>16</sup> For example, Sulzberger Colony, near Ashley, North Dakota; B. Starkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32, quoting M. S. Kirk; on South Dakota, see B. Starkoff, *loc. cit.*, quoting *AH*, May 9, 1884, and a report by a *SPPP* correspondent of a colony called "Cremieux."

<sup>17</sup> Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters* (Philadelphia, 1929), vol. II, pp. 87-88.

Schiff agreed to be responsible for each family to the extent of \$500.00 to \$600.00 if Hill would furnish houses and land. Through the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Schiff in fact proceeded to acquire 1,600 acres, some seventy-five miles from the Twin Cities. He hinted openly that in time this would also benefit the railroad.

Hill responded favorably and the project seemed on its way; yet somehow it did not develop. Seven years later, only thirteen families had been settled. This was the end of the "colonizing" efforts, but only the beginning of real Jewish rural settlement in Minnesota.<sup>18</sup> After the turn of the century, the Industrial Removal Office in New York placed 1,371 Jews in forty Minnesota towns and villages. No special agricultural colonies were established; instead, the settlers became individual truck and dairy farmers. The wide-spread settlement of Jews in the state dates from this massive effort. Where collective settlement had failed, individual enterprise succeeded.

Painted Woods and Devil's Lake—for a long time these would be familiar names to the Jews in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Their successes and failures had been a hard school for all concerned: for the colonists who had tried to overcome formidable handicaps, and for the two communities who learned the meaning of concerted communal social giving and planning.

<sup>18</sup> *AI*, Oct. 15 and 29, 1891.



## *The Second Community*

THE IMMIGRANTS who came to Minnesota from Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Rumania and other Eastern countries formed, as we have seen, a distinct Jewish community. The separation of West and East was sharp and decisive: it cut into almost every phase of community life. What relationship between the two existed was usually one-directional: it was welfare work done by the older settlers for the newer ones. In time, this division was accepted as natural. It was a mutual separation; for the cultural, social and religious interests of the two groups were or appeared to be incompatible.

In the East European community, memories of the "old home" were very strong — so strong, in fact, that further diversification according to national origin soon set in. Rumanian settlers congregated on the south side in Minneapolis, around Franklin Avenue and Fifteenth Street; other immigrants went to the near North Side of the city. In St. Paul, the West Side became the new settlement district which, like in Minneapolis, developed its own *Landsmannschaft* synagogues. Coming from a far more intensive and self-sufficient Jewish background than the German group, the East Europeans carried their cultural self-sufficiency over into the American environment. Voluntary ghettos were the result. Language, store signs and social tone approached the familiar home of yesterday as closely as possible. Rabbi Albert I. Gordon lists five reasons for the establishment of this second community as a separate entity:

- (1) the similarity of language and custom;
- (2) the greater opportunity to observe religious practices and duties in the company of like-minded individuals;
- (3) the characteristic inability to pay high rentals for homes;

- (4) the refusal of native residents to rent other than the poorest homes to immigrants; and
- (5) the convenient location of the new residences from the point of view of distance to work. (It should be noted that even though the homes into which the immigrants moved were not of the very best, they were in practically all instances better by far than the homes in which the people had lived in Europe.)

In contrast, Gordon adds, the German-Jewish community had been able to avoid the establishment of a voluntary ghetto because it possessed superior financial means and the ability to speak English.<sup>1</sup>

The division between East and West was marked to a far greater degree in St. Paul than in Minneapolis, and to a lesser degree in the other communities which came now into being, notably in Duluth. This was natural. St. Paul's German Jews already had tradition and status which dated back a full generation. In Minneapolis, the German group preceded the Eastern Jew by only ten years, while in the other communities, with only individual exceptions, the two groups arrived simultaneously.

Thus, as early as 1889, a Minneapolis correspondent whose anti-Orthodox and anti-Eastern sentiments were usually not disguised, made special mention of the fourth anniversary ball of Adath Jeshurun, the city's Orthodox congregation. He called it a "brilliant" affair—a cognomen reserved ordinarily only for entertainments of his own social class.<sup>2</sup>

Criticism of the East European Jew was often harsh, and praise frequently condescending. One Jewish writer called the immigrants "pretty unmanageable, especially when advised to begin working and getting their \$10.00 a week, which is an easy thing in this growing city."<sup>3</sup> This was a gratuitous and especially misplaced barb—for if the immigrant knew one thing, it was hard, back-breaking work.

Another correspondent from Minneapolis was unhappy over the politics which the immigrants pursued. The writer was a

<sup>1</sup> Albert I. Gordon, *Jews in Transition* (Minneapolis, 1949), pp. 19–20.

<sup>2</sup> *AI*, Feb. 28, 1889. Similar plaudits were given to an affair "sponsored by Keneseth Israel," and its details set forth in the Reform journal; *ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1892.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, June 2, 1882. Correspondent "Holom" also takes a slap at B'nai B'rith for its alleged inactivity in the refugee problem.

Democrat and felt that Jews should vote for his party out of sheer gratitude. Instead, he complained, they

*distinguished* themselves by wholesale delivery of their votes to the Republican party. Such actions, although obnoxious under any circumstances, are especially so in this case, as these people were the recipients of many favors from the present Municipal Administration, which is Democratic.<sup>4</sup>

The rise of a number of East European Jews to business success and prominence was noted by a St. Paul Jew as "gratifying." Wrote he:

15 to 20 families of the Russian refugees who are now engaged in the mercantile line in this city are quite comfortably situated, some of them quite wealthy; and as to the rest of them, I am reliably informed, that nearly all of them are earning a modest livelihood — *in their own way, of course*. [Italics added.]<sup>5</sup>

"In their own way" meant peddling, at least in many cases. Little did the writer appreciate the pioneering quality of the peddler who in many respects made a greater contribution to the development of the frontier than did the urban merchant. The peddler was more than a purveyor of wares. He was the farmer's contact with the world; he was newspaper and politician combined; he was the capillary which channeled the life blood of civilization to the outposts in the lonely country side.<sup>6</sup>

The German Jew made jokes about the *Ostjuden*;<sup>7</sup> and this was reciprocated by stories about the *Yekkes* or *Daitschische Yidden*, their alleged desire to be like the non-Jews, and their *goyish* services, as they were called. On this latter subject the sentiments on both sides were quite strong. The German Jew thought the religious practice of the new immigrants to be medieval, retrogressive and nonproductive for the next generation; in turn, his own Reform practices and theology were met with derision and even open enmity. Rabbi Wechsler reported

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1888. See also the same correspondent's reaction to Orthodox ceremonial, *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1888. On the occasion of the dedication of the Sons of Zion, a correspondent spoke of "the usual delegation of politicians, without whom the recent arrivals from abroad seem to feel any public functions would be incomplete"; *ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, June 13, 1895; see also Jan. 11, 1884.

<sup>6</sup> See *infra*, chapter 18, p. 129.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, *AI*, Nov. 5, 1886.



that he was physically attacked when he appeared in Montreal to speak in behalf of a Reform synagogue, and was threatened with similar treatment in Winnipeg.<sup>8</sup>

Some deplored this communal dichotomy. There were German Jews who recognized the invidiousness of intra-Jewish prejudice. The "Fortnightly" was a St. Paul cultural group of the younger Jewish set who heard papers on literary subjects (which were sometimes Jewish and more often not). The club was known to take members on a "select" basis only.

It seems that it takes more than intellectual ability to be admitted. . . . For instance, if you should happen to come from Russia, you cannot be one of them; and that is the reason why the Progressus Literary Society was called into existence some two years ago by Mrs. H[enry] Haas, whose aim it was to have a literary circle which any Jewish lady or gentleman could join and become one of them.<sup>9</sup>

This move toward breaking down social barriers was not the action of a frustrated outsider. Rachel Haas was the wife of Mount Zion's president, and Julia Hess, the rabbi's daughter, became secretary of the new group. However, such broadmindedness was the exception rather than the rule. Even in 1907, when Hiram D. Frankel spoke of a united community, he had reference to special emergencies only. The separate structure of the two groups and their relation to each other was not as yet substantially affected.<sup>10</sup>

To a certain degree the stress on "German" national origin was often merely the symbol of the immigrants' acculturation to the American environment. The analysis by Jessie Bernard, who described the contrast between Eastern and Western Jews in broader sociological terms, was undoubtedly accurate in part:

In the past it has been customary to make much of the differentiation of Jewish communities into German Jews and east European Jews. The developments of recent years indicate, however, that the real differentiation was between degrees of biculturality. The German Jews had made the momentous decision to embrace the culture of the non-Jewish world a generation or two before the east European Jews. This placed them several rungs above the east European Jews in America.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, April 2, 1886.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, June 13, 1895. The society had seventy members at the time.

<sup>10</sup> H. D. Frankel, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 41.

But as soon as the children of the east European Jews became Americanized, they tended to become incorporated in the "German Jewish" community. The degree of acceptance of American culture, rather than national origin, was the real basis of differentiation.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Jessie Bernard, "Biculturalism: A Study in Social Schizophrenia," in *Jews in a Gentile World*, edited by Isaac Graeber and Stuart H. Britt (New York, 1942), pp. 272-273. It has commonly been assumed that, while this article deals with a city which the author calls Milltown, the city of Minneapolis is indeed the one which is described. This study of the Minneapolis community is very uneven in character and although it anticipated in some aspects the findings of Albert I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, the latter's book has rendered Bernard's contribution obsolete.

## *The New Synagogue*

THE ORGANIZATION of the East European immigrants proceeded quickly. It started in almost every instance with the synagogue and then branched out into social, cultural, political and fraternal groupings. Twenty years after the new immigration had started, the complexity of its organizational life had far exceeded that of the earlier settlers.

In St. Paul, in 1881, the Sons of Jacob Congregation had its synagogue on College Avenue, between Wabasha and St. Peter.<sup>1</sup> With the enormous and sudden influx of new settlers the quarters soon became too small and a new splendid brick structure was erected in 1888 on the same site. It accommodated six hundred people and had a fine library and a large collection of *sifre torah*.<sup>2</sup> It had its Hebrew school and was developing a number of auxiliaries, the Tifereth Zion, Bachurei [*Bahure*] Zion, Bnei [*Bene*] Zion, Agudas Achim [*Agudat Ahim*] and the Women's Sisters of Peace.<sup>3</sup> Jacob Aronsohn served as rabbi for fifteen years. A Reform leader said admiringly of him:

. . . a gifted man who holds not only the trust and confidence of his people, but has attained considerable fame as both speaker and cantor in his field.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dedication* (Program and Book), Sons of Jacob (St. Paul, 1953). Nathan S. Blumenthal was the President; Simon Jacobs, Secretary; Nathan Cohen, Moses Calmenson, Moses Polski, Trustees.

<sup>2</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922, p. 42; *Ha-Zefirah*, vol. XIV, no. 263 (Nov. 29, 1887), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *AJYB*, 1900-1901 (5661), p. 299; 1907-1908 (5668), p. 225. The Hebrew School later developed into the Capitol City Hebrew School.

<sup>4</sup> H. D. Frankel, RA, *loc. cit.*, p. 45. Aronsohn was not ordained; he was a *mohel* and *shohet*, whose family had been called Babinsky in Russia. He had been preceded by Barney Rosenthal who in 1890 was leader of the congregation; see C. C. Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 509. No details are known about his background, except that a family tradition maintains that he was a descendant of Elijah, Gaon



With religious lines now quite sharply drawn, the members wanted to make sure that their congregation would remain strictly Orthodox and they drew their constitution accordingly:

It is hereby prohibited all new members that will join our congregation in the future to alter or add anything not in accordance with our religious beliefs, known as Orthodox Judaism, and every man wishing to join our congregation shall pledge himself to sustain our constitution and by-laws; all ceremonies shall be performed in accordance with the customs of Orthodoxy, as it is prescribed in our Holy Law and as our sages have said. This is an unchangeable law until the coming of the Just Redeemer very soon in our day. Amen.<sup>5</sup>

The Sons of Jacob was generally known as the "Polish" Congregation. As soon as it became feasible the newer Russian immigrants established an Orthodox synagogue of their own. They formed the Sons of Zion in the early eighties, starting their services in a tent in a vacant lot.<sup>6</sup> Soon they too had subsidiary groups, the Daughters of Zion, Hachnosas Orchim [*Haknasat Orḥim*] a Young Men's Aid Society, a Ladies Aid Society. They engaged Herman Kovarsky as their rabbi and at the turn of the century acquired a building of their own on the now distinctly Jewish West Side.<sup>7</sup>

At the end of the eighties a third congregation was formed, the Beth Hamedrash Hagadol [*Bet Ha-Midrash Ha-Gadol*];<sup>8</sup> and by 1900 there were three others: the Russian Brotherhood, the Sharey Heseḏ Woemet [*Sha'are Heseḏ va-Emet*], and the Sons

---

of Vilna (related to the author by Rosenthal's granddaughter, Miss Edith Ruvelson, in 1958).

<sup>5</sup> The constitution was published in both English and Yiddish. It was dated Feb. 17, 1897, and signed "A. Goffstein, President; L. Steinberg, Vice-President; Nathan Blumenthal, Secretary; Alex Silver, Chairman of the Constitution and by-laws committee." Document in Archives of Sons of Jacob (Steinberg later became President of the Sons of Abraham). In 1907, the Congregation had 160 families. See also Andrews, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Recollection, in 1957, of Mr. Louis Melamed, quoting his grandfather, Reuben Hirsch Margolis, one of the founders. The Congregation is attested for 1883; see *AI*, Nov. 30, 1883. Louis Melamed served as President of Mt. Zion from 1955 to his death, in Feb. 1959.

<sup>7</sup> H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 45; *AI*, Sept. 25, 1902. Just before the dedication, on Sept. 14, 1902, the steps broke under the large assembly. Dedication speakers were Rabbis Herman Simon, Isaac Rypins and Samuel N. Deinard. See also *AJYB*, 1903-1904 (5664), p. 206.

<sup>8</sup> It was located at 50 W. Tenth Street, had eighty-five members and was served by Rev. Isaac Lichtenberg; Andrews, *loc. cit.* Later it moved to 165 State Street, on the West Side.

of Abraham, the latter composed of families who had originally resided in the Payne Avenue district. Most of these congregations joined in forming an Orthodox Congregational Union and engaged a Chief Rabbi.<sup>9</sup> By 1907, the synagogues in St. Paul—including Mount Zion which had recently built a new structure at Avon and Holly—represented an investment of \$175,000.00; there were 5,500 Jews worshipping in them and 2,500 children were taught in their schools.<sup>10</sup>

In Minneapolis, there were now upward of five thousand Jews where twenty years before there had been five hundred. The first congregation composed of Eastern Jews was Adath Jeshurun, formed out of two small groups and incorporated in 1884. Its members were Rumanian and Russian in background. They had moved to the South Side area, living as far south as Franklin Avenue.<sup>11</sup> Disaster twice marked the early history of the congregation. In 1888, it had rented Turner Hall for the Holy Days and after *kol nidre* services a fire occurred which destroyed all ritual and other property. Reform Congregation Shaarai Tov came to the rescue by giving a *sefer torah* to the stricken group. The second calamity occurred in 1902, when the great windstorm of that year destroyed the synagogue completely.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The rabbi was Abraham Eliezer Alperstein, but beyond his name no records concerning him were located; see *AJYB*, 1899–1900 (5660), p. 168. H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.* The Russian Brotherhood worshipped on Kentucky Street and later was served by Rabbi Hyam Mickler. B'nai Abraham (Sons of Abraham) later acquired the building vacated by Mount Zion. See *infra*, chapter 27, p. 202, note 2.

<sup>10</sup> H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>11</sup> Among the founders were Nathan Gumbiner, Shulman Kaufman, Abraham Louis Album, David Cohen, and Simon Gittelson who also belonged to Shaarai Tov.

The moving force in the early days was John Gruenberg who with many of his family had come to Minneapolis from Botosani, Rumania. After the 1893 depression he moved East. His son, Benjamin, who achieved wide recognition in the educational field, married Sidonie Matsner, well-known child education expert. Another founder and long-time leader of the Congregation was Michael Jeffery whose wife was a Gruenberg and who hailed from the same town in Rumania. Jeffery served for some time as cantor, and in 1912 and 1913 was President of the Congregation. His son, David (born 1878), in an interview on Sept. 8, 1958, supplied some of the early information about Adath Jeshurun. He also made available his typescript "The Struggles and Developments of Adath Jeshurun As I Remember Them" [n.d.], where further detailed personal data are gathered. The historical information contained in the Adath Jeshurun *Clarion* (Minneapolis, 1954) is not reliable.

<sup>12</sup> *AI*, Sept. 21, 1888. The issue of Oct. 12, 1888, contains a particularly unin-

A remarkable man headed the synagogue during these years. He was Joseph Schanfeld, and for twenty-seven years the mantle of leadership was to be his. He was born in Neamtú in Rumania, on April 10, 1876. He had come to Minnesota at the age of nine and raised himself from humble beginnings into a position of business prominence in the real estate and insurance field. At twenty-three, he had become Adath Jeshurun's President; and a few years later he and two other immigrants, Isaac Schulman and Dr. George Gordon, were the first to bridge the gap between East and West. The three became members of the hitherto "German" B'nai B'rith, and Schanfeld, shortly after the turn of the century, became its president. In the years to follow there were few community positions he did not occupy. His enormous prestige was to do much to effectuate the eventual re-unification of the community.<sup>13</sup>

formed description of the accident. The writer's prejudice and ignorance of traditional Jewish practices are apparent:

The Sunday following Yom Kippur witnessed a novel and interesting event, the burial of the remains of the Sepher Torah, burned on Eref Yom Kippur. The funeral train was composed of the members of the congregation Adath Yeshurun, headed by two rabbis, who pronounced the funeral prayers and sermon as if over a human corpse. Great fear exists among our Orthodox Yehudim lest the destruction of their Sepher Torah augurs them great misfortune. The burial was somewhat like that of a human being, except that instead of a box or coffin being used to inclose the ashes, they were placed between two stones which were then cemented together and buried. To one not believing as they do the affair has an appearance of the greatest superstition, and it seems as though a great deal of reform might be introduced into their religion with beneficial results.

<sup>13</sup> R. Danenbaum, *RA, loc. cit.*, pp. 38-39; Albert I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36; Adath Jeshurun *Clarion, op. cit.* Schanfeld's work was for some time devoted to the B'nai B'rith Free Employment Service where, in cooperation with Dr. Max Seham, he provided many young men with their start in life. Schanfeld graduated from South High School in Minneapolis at the age of twenty-one, and in 1900 was married to Pauline Busch. In 1926, he was President of the Jewish Shelter Home for Children, of the Jewish Home for the Aged of the Northwest, of Adath Jeshurun and of its Cemetery Association, as well as a director and trustee of numerous other Jewish and general civic enterprises. See *Who's Who in American Jewry* (Chicago, 1926). In 1899, Aaron Gruenberg was Vice-President of the Congregation; Michael Dockman, Secretary; Marks H. Harris, Treasurer. Michael Jeffery's grandson, Ira Weil Jeffery, son of David, was two generations later the first Minneapolis boy to die in World War II. In his post as cantor and officiant leader, Michael Jeffery was followed by Abraham Goldman, Moses Kasovitz, Philip Resler, Zelig Shore and Mordecai Rivkin. The latter also assumed some rabbinic functions (interview with David Jeffery, Sept. 8, 1958). Meyer D. Mirviss became associated with the Congregation in 1907 and rendered it a lifetime of service as reader, sexton, fund raiser and widely loved counselor and helper until he died in 1955. See *AJW*, July 8, 1955; *SPD*, July 4, 1955.



Other congregations made their appearance. Also on the South Side, a purely Rumanian group formed the Rumanian Hebrew Congregation in 1888, the forerunner of B'nai Abraham.<sup>14</sup> That same year saw the formation of Beth Medrash Hagodol, located on the newly developing North Side of town.<sup>15</sup> Near it, Congregation Ohel Jacob [Ya'akov] attracted the learned element among the Lithuanian immigrants. From humble beginnings over a butcher shop this synagogue soon developed into the center of Talmudic learning on the North Side. It attempted to offer a few educational opportunities which had existed in every small town in the old country. It was no *yeshibah*, of course, but it afforded those to whom Jewish learning was the core of life some means of pursuing their studies.

Some time later, Ohel Jacob merged with Beth Medrash Hagodol into a more permanent, incorporated congregation, the Keneseth Israel. Rabbi Isaac Jaffa was engaged to preside over its intellectual and spiritual program, a synagogue was built on Fourth Street near Sixth Avenue North; a Hebrew Free School was organized, and later, the Council of Jewish Women was given use of the building for the establishment of a Sunday School for otherwise untutored North Side children. In every respect, Keneseth Israel was the North Side's leading Orthodox institution.<sup>16</sup> Mayor William H. Eustis participated prominently in both the cornerstone laying and the dedication of the synagogue in 1893 and 1894, and by his personal gifts underscored the importance of the Congregation. It used its premises for social

H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, as early as 1907 called Adath Jeshurun "Conservative." About Rabbi Solomon Roubin, see *infra*, chapter 26, p. 196 f.

<sup>14</sup> *JE*, vol. VIII, p. 599; but see Albert I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 154, who places B'nai Abraham's origin in 1896. This is an error for the Congregation did not as yet exist in 1900 or even in 1907. See *AJYB*, 1899-1900 (5660), p. 167; 1900-1901 (5661), pp. 297-298; 1907-1908 (5668), p. 224; R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 38. In later years, it maintained its location in the old South Side district, but sold its property after World War II, and in 1956 had established itself in St. Louis Park.

<sup>15</sup> *AI*, Sept. 14, 1888, March 14, 1889 (which relates early violent dissension in the group, with police called in to quiet the trouble). The note in *AI*, Sept. 21, 1888, which mentions seven congregations is in error; there were five only: Shaarai Tov, Rumanian Hebrew, Adath Jeshurun, Beth Medrash Hagodol and Ohel Jacob.

<sup>16</sup> Albert I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-159; *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 8); R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 35. For details of the congregation's beginnings, see Appendix F, *infra*, p. 314.

service, providing new immigrants with medical care and with shelter for three days. Its most signal achievement, however, was its Hebrew School. From the beginning, much love and care was lavished on this school which in the course of time developed into the Minneapolis Talmud Torah, one of the country's outstanding Jewish educational institutions.

Kenesseth Israel's rise to pre-eminence was in no small measure due to one of its members, a man who had come to the city at the beginning of the eighties. Isaac Schulman was born in Tauroggen [Taurage], Lithuania, in 1850, and had been a teacher of languages in Russia and France. In Minneapolis, he successfully turned to business, and, in 1907, Hiram D. Frankel called him "the leading Jewish citizen of the North Side."<sup>17</sup> Like his younger friend Schanfeld, he joined B'nai B'rith, became President of the largest fraternal organization of the time, the B'rith Abraham, and a leading member of the Odd Fellows. Zionism received his guidance from the beginning: he was one of the movement's organizers and early presidents in Minneapolis. For years he was the President of Kenesseth Israel, and for a while also of the Talmud Torah—an enviable record in community service, even for a man of such outstanding gifts.

At the turn of the century, synagogue life had undergone further institutional diversification. Agudas Achim (founded 1903), Nachlas [*Nahlat*] Israel (founded 1896), and Roumanian Zion were organized on the South Side. On the North Side, there were the Anshe Tavrig, Beth Aaron (organized 1905), and the older Anshei Russia (Men of Russia, organized 1901) who had changed their name to the biblical Mikro [*Mikra'e*] Kodesh, Holy Assembly.<sup>18</sup> This change of name foreshadowed the disappearance of national distinctions in the Eastern Jewish community. The reasons which led to the adoption of the Congregation's new cognomen were significant:

First, we have no reason to perpetuate the name of a foreign land in a synagogue which has been established by Jews who are living in America; second, of all countries that ought not to be memorialized by

<sup>17</sup> R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.* Schulman was married in 1874 to Ray M. Skoll. In 1907, he was head of People's Scrap Iron & Metal Company.

<sup>18</sup> For a roster of Minneapolis congregations, listing addresses, rabbis and officers, see *AJYB*, 1907-1908 (5668), pp. 224-225.

the Jew, certainly Russia is that country. The treatment of the Jewish people does not warrant such recognition.<sup>19</sup>

There were synagogue dedications to symbolize the progress of the community: Mikro Kodesh observed its milestone at Holy Day time in 1901, and Adath Jeshurun and Shaarai Tov two years later.<sup>20</sup> The synagogues had five cemeteries and a Free Burial Society, and there was an ever increasing number of charitable, fraternal and social organizations.<sup>21</sup>

From Western as well as Eastern Europe the immigrants had come. Their exodus had taken place under varying circumstances, but the goal—a land which spelled freedom and opportunity for them—was always the same. In Russia, the escape from restrictive authority often took place in the middle of the night and under an assumed name; in Germany the process was more orderly but weighed down with pedantry and irksome documentation. Sometimes the whole family travelled together, sometimes the husband came first to establish himself. Rarely it was the woman who immigrated first. The immigration of one Minnesota family began with this document:

I permit my wife, Theresa Schifferes née Guttman and children Cille, Rose and Marta, to travel for a visit in Galveston, Texas.

Dated Berlin, April 26, 1893.

#### I. SCHIFFERES<sup>22</sup>

Immigrants usually came without much knowledge of the Northwest. But if the cautious first inquired they could get proper advice on travel to and conditions in the land of the North Star. A prospective immigrant received this advice:

Don't take more in wardrobe than for one or two years. Fashions are different here, and the German cut will soon be undesirable for you. . . .

<sup>19</sup> Albert I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 156, quoting the recollections of a member present at the meeting in 1895. Gordon also claims that Tifereth B'nai Israel (later Tifereth B'nai Jacob) was then in existence. For this and other details, see A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–172, *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> AJYB, 1902–1903 (5663), p. 185, 1904–1905 (5665), p. 369. Adath Jeshurun's dedication was held Sept. 20, 1903; Shaarai Tov's on Dec. 27, 1903.

<sup>21</sup> AJYB, 1899–1900 (5660), p. 167; 1900–1901 (5661), pp. 297–298; 1907–1908 (5668), p. 224; JE, vol. VIII, p. 599.

<sup>22</sup> The family later moved to St. Paul. The document (original in German) is in the possession of MZA, a gift of Mr. Bismarck Schifferes.



It takes four days and three nights from New York. . . . The whole trip from New York will cost you about \$50 to \$55, all included. . . . Be careful with your money when you arrive. Don't trust anyone you don't know. . . ." <sup>23</sup>

Of course, only a few had wardrobe for even half a year, and all soon learned that in fact the American cut, like the rest of American life, had a style all its own.

<sup>23</sup> Maurice Auerbach to Julius Heilbron, 1880, in Heilbron papers in Manuscript Collection of MHS.

## *The Lone Trek*

BACK IN the 1870's Wechsler had already written about the increasing number of Jewish settlers within the culture-radius of the Twin Cities. He had founded a class in LaCrosse which he taught and later confirmed. Twenty families were located there, but without a rabbi to serve them regularly their Jewish life was badly neglected. Time and again Wechsler placed the problem of the Jew in the small community before the larger American public. He urged the immediate engagement of circuit rabbis, for he feared that these families, who in many cases were the only Jews in their communities, would soon fall prey to disinterest, intermarriage and assimilation. He, himself, was willing to take on the task of circuit riding which needed attention not merely in Minnesota, but throughout the entire Northwest.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, to the early settlements in Mankato and Stillwater,<sup>2</sup> Jews were now living in Chippewa Falls, New Ulm,<sup>3</sup> and, by the turn of the century, in ever-spreading circles, in most small communities. Even in the new mining towns on the Range, which boasted of the coldest temperatures in all the United States, Jews were soon found in large enough numbers to establish organized community life. For the central portion of the state the Twin Cities served as the cultural and religious point of reference; in the north it was the new booming port of Duluth.

<sup>1</sup> AI, July 4, July 12, Aug. 8, Oct. 17 and Nov. 14, 1879. In 1884, the local congregation, Anshe Heseḏ, the B'nai B'rith and the fraternal order Keshet Shel Barzel combined to celebrate Montefiore's one hundredth birthday. In addition to having special religious services and procuring a portrait of the jubilar, they planned on addresses in English and German and pledged themselves to collect funds for a chair at Hebrew Union College (Ms. in AJA, Cincinnati).

<sup>2</sup> On early settlers in Mankato and Stillwater, see *supra*, chapter 6, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Early settlers in Chippewa Falls (1881) were E. Posnanski; in New Ulm, William Loewenthal (Record Book, MZA).

Shortly after the turn of the century there were congregations in Tower, Hibbing (Agudas Achim with 162 members) and Eveleth (Agudath Achim); Virginia's B'nai Abraham had a cantor; Chisholm's B'nai Zion (85 families) was served by Rabbi R. S. Shapiro, and Mankato by Rabbi M. Wolf. The Jews of Superior, listed as early as 1889, were served by Duluth.<sup>4</sup> In most of these cities, the Eastern Jewish immigrants soon outnumbered the Germans; and, since in all cases the community could only support one religious organization, the synagogues inevitably were traditional in character. Occasionally men of unusual learning inspired their coreligionists to intensive Jewish effort. In far northern outposts there were peddlers and farmers, traders and craftsmen who studied by themselves and who would on occasion join like-minded Jews in Hibbing, Virginia and Chisholm for the

<sup>4</sup> AI, April 17, 1890 (p. 3); AJYB 1907-1908 (5668), p. 223; 1911-1912 (5672), p. 249; 1916-1917 (5677), p. 264, where a great mass of organization and personnel detail may be found. No further information was found on Rabbis Shapiro and Wolf.

The first residents of the Iron Range (so called because of large iron ore deposits) lived in Tower and the Vermillion area. The Sam Milavetz family came to Tower in 1892 and had been preceded by the William Simons, Isador Gordons and Louis Gordons. The Rosenbloom and Cornfield families settled in Ely in the 1890's. A portion of Hibbing, known as Kitzville, was named after the Jacob Kitz family who, with the Max Greenblatts, were among Hibbing's early developers. Other Hibbing arrivals in the 1890's were Charles Hallock, Max Rogalsky, Max Levinson, H. and D. Bloom, Charles Rakovsky, M. E. Osterman, Belzama H. Edelstein and Nathan Nides. The Congregation was organized in 1904 (information was in part supplied through Rabbi Reuben Maier who served in Hibbing until 1956).

Chisholm's early Jewish settlers were John Hallock, Ben Karon, Julius Lewis, Ike Lewis, Max Manson, the Albert Roman family, Ben and Louis Roth, Sol Rubloff, Simon Sapera and the Ziskin family. The city burned down completely in 1908, and left the community destitute. A synagogue was built in 1913, largely through the efforts of Simon Sapera, one of the most active Jews on the Range. Louis Press was the city's first casualty in World War I, and the local American Legion Post was named after him.

Virginia founded its synagogue in 1903. Settlers up to that time included John Mesberg, Solomon Sax, Morris Shanedling, Ben Milavetz, Max Lewis, Samuel Dorfman, Herman Baer, Joseph Garon and A. Kenner. Sax was an alderman of Virginia during the 1890's.

Eveleth's synagogue was the oldest on the Range. Founded in 1900, it counted these old settlers among its organizers: Sol Sax, Frank Rabinowitz (the first Jew to reside there), Jacob and Nathan Stein, B. Lippman, M. Alexander, Samuel Siegel, Morris Feldman, Max Greenberg, David Simon, Ike Lewis, Max Shapira (Sapera) and Samuel Levant.

The names were culled from a paper delivered on March 1, 1955, by Mrs. Morris Greenberg (daughter of pioneer Julius Lewis) before a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society in Eveleth (used by permission of the author).



pursuit of Torah.<sup>5</sup> The small community of Virginia, 196 miles north of the Twin Cities, was one of the first Jewish communities of Minnesota to inspire one of its sons for the rabbinic profession.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1890's Jews were living in such cities as Albert Lea, Shakopee, Fairmont, Faribault, Austin, Brainerd, St. Cloud, Wells, Winona, and Hutchinson. The membership lists of the Jewish Publication Society of America and of Mount Zion's Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society are instructive rosters of the far-flung settlement of that decade.<sup>7</sup> Mount Zion at one time even contemplated an interstate membership committee to attract Jews in small communities in Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa and Wisconsin. The resolution stated:

This committee shall make trips at intervals as they shall see fit and the expenses shall be borne by Mt. Zion Congregation.<sup>8</sup>

Nothing, however, came of this ambitious plan.

The Jews in the little towns and villages felt keenly the absence of satisfying Jewish association, with its educational and religious advantages. They went to the big city for the Holy Days as well as for important religious occasions. These Jewish settlers were their people's representatives to the farm population of the state; wherever they went they brought their heritage along and by their very presence infused some of it into the life stream of their environment.

Miss Jeannette Lefkovitz in 1957 retold some of the family's early experiences in small town living:

<sup>5</sup> Recollections of Louis Gordon, St. Paul (1955).

<sup>6</sup> Ralph B. Hershon graduated in 1917, after having attended Hebrew Union College and Jewish Theological Seminary; *AI*, Feb. 1, 1917. He died in 1951, in Petersburg, Virginia, and is buried in the B'rith Achim cemetery there; Louis Ginsburg, *The Jews of Petersburg* (Petersburg, 1954), p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> Simon Strauss, a Hessian, had come to Albert Lea in 1878, at the age of twenty-eight. He later became a director of the First National Bank; see *Book of Minnesotans* [= *BoM*], ed. by Albert N. Marquis (Chicago, 1907), p. 495. In 1893, Mrs. F. Jacobi lived in Sauk Centre, the Fleischers in Faribault, the Solomon Levys in Mankato. In 1897, the Carl Schallingers were in Hutchinson, the Meiss family in Shakopee. The Louis Gottschalls were in Stillwater in 1891, and the J. Katskys in Wadena. See Minutes of the Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society, St. Paul, pp. 21, 54 and *passim* (also for individual settlers in the Dakotas and Iowa); *AI*, Aug. 31, 1893; Sept. 2, 1897; *AJYB*, 1900-1901 (5661), pp. 689-690.

<sup>8</sup> *MZM*, vol. IV, April 11, 1906. The Congregation had considerable out-of-town affiliation, especially in the early days.

Life in Austin in the '90's was quite urban. Our home had all the conveniences. George Hormel\* had a small butcher shop and was struggling to make a go of it. The George Hirsch family were there then. Mr. Hirsch died last summer at 100. He once was mayor of the city.

We later moved to Marshall, a smaller town. It was a step backward. My parents knew no one; there were no other Jewish people. Our home was heated by stoves, lighted by kerosene lamps for several years. Cistern water served for general use while drinking water had to be carried in. There were eight churches and eight saloons. Billy Sunday, Moody and other evangelists came. The G.A.R. was active and had a lodge. Going to the depot Sunday afternoons to watch the trains come in was an important diversion. Winters were severe (40° below zero was to be expected) and there were many blizzards. Summers were highlighted by a week of Chautauqua. One year William Jennings Bryan was on hand.

We observed Seder; a family from Cottonwood usually joined us. My mother sent to Chicago for Sunday School material, and so my brother and I had some religious instruction. At Passover, we distributed matzos [*mazzot*] to friends.

My father was general chairman of the Memorial Day celebration, and I doubt if the town, before or since, was ever so thoroughly decorated. He greatly valued his stake in America where he, an Hungarian Jew, could own land and enjoy all the privileges. The Jews who were a part of these communities did a service in creating understanding.

More than that, some of them rose to be leaders of considerable influence.

In the Mille Lacs area, in central Minnesota, lived a young livestock dealer by the name of Emmet Mark. He was one of Aaron Mark's children and had come with his family who settled in St. Paul in the early 'seventies.<sup>9</sup> He had left home at the age of eighteen. His given name was Mose, but he was known all over the countryside as "Easy" Mark, and then as Emmet. He was well liked and after he had settled in Princeton and Willow River his friends in Mille Lacs County elected him sheriff. He had met a local Christian girl and wanted to marry her, but before doing so he brought her to St. Paul where Rabbi Herman Simon con-

\* Later on one of the country's largest meat packers; not a Jew.

<sup>9</sup> See *supra*, chapter 13, p. 90, note 1.

verted her and changed her name to Esther. Mark was a fine horseman and a good politician. As a Republican, he was elected to the 1901–1903 and 1905 legislatures, and the old photograph shows the former immigrant boy on horseback before the new capitol.<sup>10</sup>

Out in Eden Valley, Joseph Friedman had his general merchandise store and dealt in real estate. He had been born in Cold Springs, Minnesota, in Stearns County, and had become very active in local politics. His fellow townsmen and friends on the farms sent him to the Legislature from 1907 to 1909.<sup>11</sup>

Solomon Sax was a man of similar caliber. He was a younger fellow-townsmen of Minneapolis' Isaac Schulman and, like him, he hailed from Tauroggen [Taurage] in Lithuania. As a fifteen-year old boy, he had come to America with the great Eastern influx, and as a man in his twenties he had set out for the Iron Range. While his headquarters were in the city of Eveleth, he lived for two decades out in the countryside and invested in land years before the first settler arrived. He worked from 1893 on in an area known as Wallace. Years later, in 1917, the settlers recognized the pioneering spirit of Solomon Sax, civic and Jewish leader of the early Mesabi Range, by naming their town "Sax." It was a permanent tribute to this intrepid man who, amidst his many civic labors and honors, staunchly supported all aspects of

<sup>10</sup> Mark was born in Preny, Lithuania, in 1864. Information supplied by his sister, Mrs. Fannie Litman. See also *Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota*, [=LM] (St. Paul, 1901), p. 691; MB, p. 487; SPD, April 2, 1937, at the time of Mark's death.

<sup>11</sup> MB, p. 240; LM, 1907, p. 676. He represented the 54th District. No Jewish activities are reported for him. There was also John F. Rosenwald (18th District), a Republican, born 1860 in Germany, who had a real estate business in Madison. He was a Representative in the 1903 and 1909 state Legislatures; LM, 1909, p. 721; SPPP, April 27, 1922 (p. 7). But Jewish identification is doubtful; rather, he seems to have come from a Lutheran family. No Jewish background can be established either for Representative Charles Herzberg (LM, 1909, p. 717), or for Henry Weiss, both of whom are mentioned in UJE, vol. VII, p. 572, as Jews. That article is, however, based on secondary sources and cannot be considered reliable. See, for instance, the error about one Jacob Abraham, *supra*, chapter 2, p. 9, notes 1 and 2. Mose Winthrop, born in Odessa, Russia, in 1878, is listed by UJE, vol. VII, p. 572, as a member of the Legislature. This too is an error. A well-known Democratic orator, he lost his campaigns for election as Municipal Judge and for the Legislature; see H. Castle *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 1752. On Senator Harry F. Weiss, a native of Parkersburg, Va., and a prominent resident of LeSueur, see LM, 1913, p. 625.



Jewish life and for many years was President of the Eveleth Synagogue.<sup>12</sup>

Last but not least, there were the immigrants who set out to farm the land. They were often far away from organized Jewish contacts. Their knowledge of farming, especially under Minnesota conditions, was sometimes deficient; yet they not only conquered the soil but with tenacity also held on to the thin threads of Jewish communication. In time many of them or their children were to drift back to the cities, usually to avoid intermarriage or to afford the younger generation a better Jewish and general education. Their story is part of the saga of Jewish life in the states.

Dr. Moses Barron, physician and Zionist, one of the state's leading Jewish personalities, belonged to such a family. In 1955, he looked back upon those early days. His story was probably typical of the average Jewish farmer in Minnesota.<sup>13</sup>

His father, Jacob, had come to America all by himself. He left his wife and two sons in their little town of Skud, near Kovno, and arrived in New York in 1884. He started peddling, and slowly wended his way westward. In Pennsylvania, he was able to afford a horse and wagon. Eventually he reached Iowa, spent a little time around Waterloo, and came to Minneapolis five years after he had arrived in the states. He then went to western Minnesota, and here, on the prairies, found a farmer who was anxious to sell his homestead. The older Barron made the purchase and at once sent for his family. They were all settled and ready to farm in the winter of 1889-1890.

The farm was located some eight miles southeast of the village

<sup>12</sup> Ms. letter by Corah L. Colbrath, of the St. Louis County Historical Society, dated Jan. 22, 1953 (in possession of Mr. Bernard Postal). Sax later lived for a while in Virginia where he was elected alderman. He then moved to Eveleth where he was active on the Charter Commission and in other causes, and also served as Alderman. See Mrs. Morris Greenberg, *op. cit.*, where further details are given. Hinckley had a Jewish mayor in 1910. He was Henry Copilovich, born in 1865 in Minsk, Russia, died 1935 in St. Paul.

<sup>13</sup> The interview was recorded in December, 1955. Moses Barron was born near Kovno [Kaunas], Lithuania, on Nov. 8, 1883. He attended the University of Minnesota and graduated from its Medical School in 1911, where he taught for many years. From 1933 to 1952, he was Professor of Medicine, and Professor Emeritus thereafter. Throughout his life Dr. Barron took a commanding position in Zionist affairs, heading the Zionist Emergency Council and the American Friends of the Hebrew University for many years. Barron's father, Jacob, also came from the Kovno province and lived from 1852 to 1941.

of Hammond, a little town which was their nearest contact with civilization. Morris, the county seat, was farther away, and only once in a while would the family make the trip there. For most of the year they were rather isolated. The nearest neighbor was three miles away. One year another Jewish family moved into the area, but the newcomers left after a short while. Still, the isolation was far from complete.

We had a lot of contact with Jews. Those were the peddlers that used to come out. They used to keep us informed of many things that went on in the cities. They introduced us to Jewish operettas; they sang them for us, and we would go around repeating the songs, feeling that we had actually seen the show. The peddlers seemed wonderful to us and thrilled us. They were our news bringers; we looked forward to seeing them. Some of them were fine singers; some would stay and help a little on the farm. Later it seemed as if we had a peddler stay with us over *shabbat* \* every week. In later years I found many people in the Twin Cities who were now in other branches of work, who reminded me that they had stayed with us in the early days on the farm.

The family's relations with their Gentile neighbors were, on the whole, very good.

The neighbors [Dr. Barron recalled] were all very friendly. They were far away, and we had practically no difficulties with them. We did have a little trouble. In school we were called names; and also the crews who came to thresh our grain called us the customary derogatory names. But all in all, we did not feel any great hardship. Segregation was, of course, no problem.

The maintenance of Jewish life and loyalty in such isolation did, however, produce some problems. There was no Jewish schooling for the children; there was no synagogue to be visited: Judaism was entirely bound up with what the home could offer. The Barrons maintained their Orthodoxy quite strictly.

Dad was a *yeshibah bahur* when he left Russia. He had not done anything but study up to the time he left, and when he came here he followed tradition fairly well, and we held to it quite thoroughly on the farm. We never worked on the Sabbath except for milking the cows, but otherwise we never worked on the farm in any way.

\* On *shabbat*, the seventh day of the week, travel and work is prohibited according to Jewish traditional law.

The discussions at home were always about Jewish life. We had the Jewish press which we read assiduously. We followed the Herzl story and the Zionist Congresses and read the *Judenstaat*.<sup>\*</sup> We thus kept very close to what went on in Jewish life. Out where we were, it seemed all quite miraculous the way it was described in the newspapers. Sometimes we felt as if the Messiah would really come and take us all to Israel.

We used to pray more intensely in the little house on our farm than we now pray in most synagogues. We used to stand during the entire day of *Yom Kippur*; and Dad used to cry at various passages so that it filled our hearts. He would sing the *Unetaneh* in such a way that there was no doubt in our mind that the day's judgment was really a question of life and death for us. There was only father's voice. We would read along with him, and he would translate a few prayers for us so that we should know their significance.

We children had learned a little in the old country, and so we picked up Hebrew reading quite easily. We had services every Saturday. Dad read the Hebrew text of the weekly portion from his Bible, and he went through the whole service aloud. We all sang along with him. We sang the words, but we really could not translate their meaning.

We had Jewish books, but the two fires left us nothing. Afterwards we only got prayerbooks and Bibles. Dad insisted that we lay *tefillin* every day, even though he himself would occasionally miss out on it. He always said that it was important for us to keep up the tradition, so that when we grew up we would be more closely tied to Judaism. Jacob Barron had been a Talmudical student in the old country, and therefore his knowledge of farming was strictly bookish. He never became really adept at it, but he persisted despite two disastrous fires which left the family homeless and penniless. Eventually he obtained some machinery and made a modest success of his farm. Later, when the boys had finished high school and had gone to college in the city, the father sold his homestead and moved to St. Paul. What he and his wife had missed in their solitary existence they could now enjoy to their hearts' delight. His wife became active in Jewish organizations, and he himself returned to the intellectual pursuits of his youth. The last fifteen

<sup>\*</sup> A pamphlet in which Theodor Herzl first set forth his ideas for establishing a Jewish state.



years of his life he spent in daily Talmudic study, as he had always hoped to do.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Related by Dr. Moses Barron, Minneapolis, on Dec. 26, 1955. Farther south there was a small colony of settlers at Lamberton, in Redwood County. Little is known about this settlement which was sponsored by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. It evidently disappeared like most other similar undertakings. See Samuel Joseph, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 33.

Of course, settlers varied in their religious observance. Sarah Thal, a Lakota, N. D., settler, recalled the following:

A few days later Mrs. Mendelsohn and the hired girl as maids were known in that day left to spend the winter in Milwaukee and I was left in charge of the household. Here I learned to make bread with fried yeast and flap jacks and biscuits and pies. Sam Stoner was foreman. From him, I learned my first English. A newcomer must of course experience much embarrassment. My worst was one day Mr. Mendelsohn brought in a crate of pork and asked me, a piously reared Jewess, to cook it. I did, however, discard the dietary laws and practices, but to this day I observe the Passover (New Year's Day) [*sic!*] and the Yon Kippur [*sic!*] (the Day of Atonement).

(*Pioneer Stories*, written by people of Nelson County, North Dakota; American Print: Lakota [n.d.], p. 12.)

*Head of the Lakes*

DULUTH, THE third largest city of Minnesota, attracted early attention as a natural port for the distribution of the state's many resources. The city's settlement dated back to 1852, and its rapid development came with the railroads and the exploitation of rich ore deposits of the Range. At the close of the Civil War a few thousand people had made their home there along the shore of Lake Superior. Their community reached across the state line into Wisconsin, where the town was called Superior.

The character of the Jewish communities in Minnesota was always influenced by a number of factors: When did the Jews arrive in relation to the rest of the settlers? What background did the Jewish and non-Jewish residents have? Did the Jews come with capital, ready to make their start in the relatively high strata of the mercantile world, or did they come with little, living in the poorer sections of town, starting in every way from the bottom?

But there is also the personal factor, and for minority groups it looms especially large in pioneer country. Jewish life in St. Paul took its own characteristic turn in part because of the Jews who first settled there, the Austrians, Noahs and Elfelts. Minneapolis had its Rees, and the Range, its Sax. In this respect Duluth was no different. Julius Austrian had holdings on the site of the township and for a short time lived in that general area in its formative days. The first Jew of whose permanent settlement we know came in 1870.

His name was Bernard Silberstein, who was then a man in his early twenties. He was born in Budapest, Hungary, on March 4, 1848 and in 1856 had migrated with his family to Detroit. He had

married Nettie Weiss in 1870, and since both he and his bride were enterprising as well as young, they decided to make their honeymoon trip to the fabled waters of the Great Lake. In May, the couple arrived in Duluth on the steamer *Meteor* and liked what they saw. They stayed and opened a dry-goods store. Soon the town expanded, for just then the first railroad reached the area — an event which Silberstein managed to witness:

Late in June, 1870, [he related] we heard of the arrival of the first train at Thompson. A construction train carried sixteen passengers from here [Duluth] to Fond du Lac, from which point we had to follow an Indian trail over the hills on foot to Thompson. Of the sixteen but four reached the village . . . the day was hot, and the climb was hard, but three besides myself stuck to it, and after some ten hours reached Thompson. Few of the passengers remained at Thompson. . . . The majority returned with the train.<sup>1</sup>

As the years went by, Silberstein rose to considerable communal prominence. For many years he served on civic and fraternal boards, as Commissioner of Public Safety, as a member of the Library Board and of the Park Board; and Duluth credits him with a large share of the responsibility for the excellence of its boulevard system. He rose high in the Masonic Order and was one of Minnesota's earliest B'nai B'rith: for in 1871 he had already taken out a membership back in his old home town of Detroit and, in 1921, had the rare joy of having a community fete him on the occasion of his fiftieth anniversary in the Order.<sup>2</sup>

With a man of such caliber as an early settler, organized Jewish life was likely to develop quickly as soon as there were enough Jews in the community. However, for some years only a few Jews arrived. What happened to Jewish settlement in Minneapolis, now happened in Duluth. The Minneapolis Jewish settlement was delayed because the existing Jewish community in St. Paul acted as a natural magnet which attracted the earlier immigrants. Similarly, the increasing Jewish population of the Twin Cities retained many would-be northern settlers, a development

<sup>1</sup> Walter van Brunt, *Duluth and St. Louis County, Minnesota* (Chicago and New York, 1921), vol. I, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *AI*, April 15, 1915 and *BoM*, p. 465, for biographical data; Frankel papers (box 4, file 6) on his golden jubilee. Silberstein was sometimes also spelled Silverstein. He died Sept. 4, 1922. See *AJW*, Sept. 8, 1922, p. 11, and the editorial on p. 4.



which was characteristic of other smaller minorities as well. Full scale Jewish settlement in Duluth did not begin until ten years after Silberstein had first come, and the earliest arrivals were men from St. Paul: Joseph D. Sattler and Adolph Albenberg (relatives of Solomon Bergman) and Myer Whitehead. Silberstein himself often went to the Twin Cities. He joined Mount Zion in the mid-seventies as an out-of-town member—and quite naturally the new Jewish settlers came under his influence.<sup>3</sup>

The 1880's witnessed the arrival of Ignatz Freimuth who went into the general store business and who in later years was connected with mining activities. In time, "Freimuth" became a familiar name in the business life of Duluth. A charter member and later President of the Temple, he also helped to found the Duluth Chamber of Commerce.

The roster of that decade is replete with those typical German family names which characterized the two older cities farther south: Louis Hammel, Philip H. Oswald, Jacob H. Winterfield, Sigmund Levy, Henry and Asa Leopold, Philip Levy, Sam and Louis Loeb, Isaac Bondy, and Ben Heller. There were also families called Van Baalen and Mondschine. In West Superior lived some younger people like the three Abrams brothers who had moved north after their father, Emanuel, had died in Minneapolis.<sup>4</sup>

By 1891, there were enough Jews in Duluth to found a congregation. They called it "Emanuel" and engaged a functionary named Glueck. The following year, they were prepared to engage Rabbi David K. Eisenberg, who in turn was followed by Rabbi Sigmund Frey. On February 26, 1896, the congregation was incorporated, the same date on which thirty-nine years earlier the first

<sup>3</sup> A membership list, Mount Zion, dated 1877, shows his name. See also St. Paul Social Club, Minute Book, for removal of young men to Duluth in the early 1880's.

<sup>4</sup> AI, Aug. 11, 1892. For much of the early history of Duluth, I am indebted to Mrs. Henry A. (Ida) Davis, whose husband (himself, one of the leading citizens who died in 1948) had prepared a manuscript "Duluth History." It is not documented and was written about 1938. Much of it was apparently based on information supplied by older settlers. For other information, see Joseph M. Papo, "A Study of the Jewish Community of Duluth," mimeographed, [n.d.], *passim*, which also is not documented.

Albert Abraham, too, belonged to the early Superior settlers. Born in Minersville, Pa., in 1857, he came north in 1889. (*BoM*, p. 10.) On early Jewish business activity, see *Duluth News-Tribune*, Feb. 19, 1956.

Jewish congregation in the state had received its charter. Bernard Silberstein was the first President.<sup>5</sup> Eight years later, the members dedicated their synagogue and engaged a graduate of Hebrew Union College, Mendel Silber, as their rabbi.<sup>6</sup> From the beginning, the congregation placed itself into the Reform camp. As in the Twin Cities, its spiritual direction was influenced to some degree by the early arrival of East European Jews. In St. Paul, the development from Orthodox tradition to the first stages of liberal Judaism had taken some twenty years. In Minneapolis the span was only two to three years. In Duluth the initial stage was missing: there was no gradual development from Orthodoxy to Reform. In all three communities social diversification played an essential role: Reform developed strongly and change became more rapid as heterogeneous Jewish elements appeared in the population. Where diversification occurred comparatively late (as in St. Paul) a change in ritual and philosophy occurred slowly; where it came before the older Jewish community was fully settled (as in Minneapolis), the change from Orthodoxy to Reform came quickly and almost suddenly. Where, as in Duluth, there was no significant interval between Western and Eastern immigration, the Western Jews turned at once to Reform. For in Duluth, settlers from Eastern Europe came only a few years after the first substantial contingent of German Jews.

During the eighties the Russian pogroms had brought the first Eastern settlers to Duluth. There were Mose Polinsky and Samuel Oreckovsky, whose large families soon became an important factor in the community. There were the Karons and the Kaners,

<sup>5</sup> Sigmund Frey was born near Brünn [Brno], Moravia, and received his rabbinical diploma from Dr. Samuel Gruen. He also served in Springfield, Ill., Wabash, Ind., and Altoona, Pa. No further data were found on Rabbi Eisenberg. Other information is based on a questionnaire supplied by Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Secretary of Temple Emanuel (1956). Louis Gross was the first Secretary; Joseph A. Klein, Treasurer. Other founders listed were Edward H. Oswald, Meyer I. Edelman, Louis Hammel, Ignatz Freimuth, Louis S. Loeb, Philip H. Oswald, Jacob Zien, William Abrahamson, Hyman Y. Josephs and Max B. Shapiro. J. M. Papo, p. 4, lists Temple Emanuel's founding date as 1894.

<sup>6</sup> The dedication took place on June 9, 1902; see *AJYB*, 1902-1903 (5663), p. 186.

Silber was born on Dec. 10, 1882, in Lithuania, and had, while still a student in Cincinnati, officiated in Duluth: see *AJYB*, 1904-1905 (5665), p. 223. He was a brother-in-law of Mrs. Samuel N. Deinard and, in 1958, lived in New Orleans, La.

both with large families; the William Goldsteins and Isaac Abrahamsons; there were Max Zalk, Israel Oreckovsky and Joseph Polinsky. From these early settlers and their children came much of the philanthropic and religious leadership of Duluth's next seventy years.

In the middle eighties, another Russian family arrived whose contribution to Jewish life became outstanding. This was the family of Isaac Cook and his wife, Ida. They had come from Litvinovka, Lithuania, and were related to the Mark family in St. Paul. Shortly after their arrival they became the spark plugs in the organization of the tradition-oriented section of the community.

Father was a Rabbi [wrote their daughter]. He knew nothing about business. Mother was the business woman in Europe, as were many mothers whose husbands were students. Father immediately looked around for a few Orthodox Jewish families—where services could be held in our home on Fridays and Saturday mornings—our living room not only became a synagogue, but a meeting place for immigrants during the first few years. . . . Father had been asked from the New York Immigration office to take charge of all new-comers to Duluth. He held that office until he died, in February, 1901.<sup>7</sup>

The Cooks' great interest was the establishment of a sound Hebrew school. After some difficult early years the Moses Montefiore Hebrew School began to flourish. A half century later, a grateful community gave expression to its gratitude for one of the founders and changed the school's name to Ida Cook Hebrew

<sup>7</sup> Manuscript by Etta Cook (Mrs. Hyman Y.) Josephs, dated Jan., 1943 (used by permission of the author). In the 1890's "Goodie" Cohen tutored the children; Zalman Siegel taught in the West End of Duluth, and Abbe Yakir Coran in his home on Second Alley, east of First Avenue East. See Ms. prepared for the Historical Committee of the Ida Cook Hebrew School by Albert D. Baddin and Cherie Bruzonsky (1955); also private communication from Etta Cook Josephs, a daughter of Ida Cook. The Hebrew School was formally organized in 1905, and incorporated July 31, 1908, by Robert Buchman, Joseph Polinsky, Morris Helstein, Joseph Oreckowsky, Max Zalk, Abraham J. Klatsky and Max Altman (Incorporation Books of Minnesota, vol. Q-3, p. 317). Buchman was the first President; Polinsky, Vice President; Moses S. Cook, Secretary; Charles P. Meyer, Treasurer. Ida Cook was President of its auxiliary from 1903 to 1922. Principles of the school were in part set forth as follows:

To furnish persons of Hebrew parentage with religious instruction in harmony with the Hebrew religion; to teach them the Hebrew and English languages and other subjects and to promote religious principles and devotion. (See J. M. Papo, *loc. cit.*, p. 7.)



School—to remember an unusual woman whose one hundredth birthday it had celebrated in 1943, on one of Duluth's most memorable occasions.

The oldest Orthodox synagogue in Duluth was Tifereth Israel [Splendor of Israel] which was founded between 1892 and 1893. Its lay founders were Russian Jews, led by Jacob [Yankel] L. Levine and Louis Cohen, and its first rabbi was Odessa-born Joseph Shapiro.

The Orthodox Moses Montefiore Congregation (part of which later developed into the Talmud Torah, and another part of which became Adas Israel Congregation) was the home of the Lithuanian Jews and came into existence before the nineties were over, with Isaac Cook and Joseph Polinsky in the chief positions of leadership.<sup>8</sup> A third traditional synagogue, B'nai Israel, was founded soon thereafter.

Socially and religiously, East and West stood apart in Duluth as they did in the Twin Cities. Occasionally, an Eastern Jew like Jacob Zien would bridge the gap and join the German Reformers. In any case, the gap was narrower in Duluth than farther south in the older communities, and the organization of a B'nai B'rith lodge in 1897 became dramatic proof of it. Bernard Silberstein, personifying the German-speaking element, became President, and Isaac Cook, representing the Eastern Jews, Vice President.<sup>9</sup> Neither St. Paul's nor Minneapolis' lodges had at that time lost their Western character. In fact, probably neither of them had any East European members before the turn of the century.

To be sure, the Duluth experiment was short-lived. Perhaps it was as yet too early for this type of communal unification. The lodge did not survive. Not until 1904 was it reorganized as Covenant Lodge No. 569. Meanwhile, the Russian Jews had

<sup>8</sup> *AJYB*, 1899–1900 (5660), p. 166; 1900–1901 (5661), pp. 296–297. Temple Emanuel listed Louis Hammel as President, and Mrs. F. L. Mondshine as President of the ladies' Temple Aid. Samuel Snitzer served Moses Montefiore Congregation. Emanuel had no rabbi at the time, but listed Louis Roos as "Reader." It is interesting to note that fifty years later, A. B. Polinsky was a leader in national Reform Judaism and served as a Vice-President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Rabbi Joseph Shapiro was born Sept. 1, 1860, and received his diploma from rabbinical authorities in Odessa, Russia: *AJYB*, 1903–1904 (5664), p. 98.

<sup>9</sup> Harry A. Davis, *op. cit.* Hyman Y. Josephs was Secretary and Louis S. Loeb Treasurer. Loeb later served as President of Emanuel.

found another outlet for their fraternal needs and had by 1900 founded Duluth City Lodge (No. 133) of the Order of Brith Abraham [=OBA]. But while similar lodges in comparable communities were Yiddish-speaking, the Duluth chapter spoke English, thereby making the ultimate transition from OBA to B'nai B'rith much easier.<sup>10</sup>

As the new century got under way, Duluth's Jewish population grew to between 1,300 and 1,500 souls.<sup>11</sup> There were now four congregations: Adas [*Adat*] Israel (with *hebrah kaddishah*, or burial society), B'nai Israel, Tifereth Israel and Emanuel; and three of them had spiritual leaders: Israel Teplitz at Adas, Maurice Lefkovits at Emanuel, and Jacob Halpern at Tifereth.<sup>12</sup> There were two cemeteries; there were charitable organizations, an educational group, three social clubs and four lodges.<sup>13</sup> The Zion Society spearheaded the Jewish nationalist movement in the city.<sup>14</sup>

By this time, Duluth was farther along the path of communal unification than Minneapolis and St. Paul. There were only a few German Jewish settlers who held social and economic pre-eminence. Jews in both camps soon reached comparable economic positions, and while social leadership remained with the German group for some years, its numbers grew smaller and marriage between the groups became more and more frequent. Further-

<sup>10</sup> *AJYB, 1900-1901* (5661), p. 148.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1907-1908 (5668), p. 223, lists the estimated Jewish population as 2,000, a figure undoubtedly too high. A similar overestimation occurred thirty years later, when *AJYB, 1941-1942* (5702), p. 660, gave the 1937 Jewish population of Duluth as 3,700, while an on-the-spot canvas produced a figure of only 2,633. See J. M. Papo, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Israel Teplitz appears to have received his ordination in Germany, but no further details were located.

<sup>13</sup> *AJYB, 1907-1908* (5668), p. 233. On Maurice Lefkovits see *infra*, note 15; also chapter 32, p. 238. The relatively close relationship of the Reform Temple to the East European part of the community is attested by Rabbi Mendel Silber who remembered that he used to preach in the traditional synagogue on the second day of the festivals, when Temple Emanuel held no services. Also, non-Reformers used to attend Silber's study classes (personal communication by Dr. Silber, New Orleans, La., to the author, Sept. 11, 1958). Adas Israel reported 100 members. Moses Cook was President. L. Karon was President of B'nai Israel (15 members); Congregation Emanuel (75 members) was headed by Jacob D. Zien, and Tifereth Israel (20 members) by I. L. Levine. Jacob Halpern, who assumed rabbinical functions, was a *shohet* and teacher, and was the father-in-law of Charles Oreckovsky.

<sup>14</sup> *AJYB, 1899-1900* (5660), p. 38.

more, since Emanuel's Rabbi Maurice Lefkovits was a Zionist,<sup>15</sup> the emotional responses of most Jews to the insistent voice of nationalism were undivided. Of the three major Minnesota communities which saw the development from a unitary to a dual Jewish community structure, Duluth was the first to foreshadow the ultimate third step: the reunification into one single Jewish community. In Duluth, this happened within ten years after its complete social diversification had been achieved. Minneapolis would follow suit, while St. Paul, whose split into two parts had been the longest in coming, was also the last to overcome it.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Maurice Lefkovits was born on Feb. 15, 1875, in Satoraljahyhely, in Hungary. He was educated in Pressburg, Marburg and Berlin, and received his Ph.D. degree in Bern, Switzerland. He attended Hebrew Union College and was graduated in 1902. His first pulpit was in Las Vegas, Nevada, where he served for five years. In 1907, he came to Duluth, beginning a period of strong leadership which was to last until after the First World War. See *AJYB*, 1903-1904 (5664), p. 72; *AJW*, Oct. 6, 1916; Feb. 9, 1917 (relating the observance of his tenth anniversary in Duluth); Sept. 26, 1919 (pp. 47 and 54; this source gives his birth year as 1878).

<sup>16</sup> See also the instructive essay by Jacob Rader Marcus, "The Periodization of American Jewish History," *PAJHS*, vol. XLVII, no. 3 (March, 1958), pp. 1-9.



## *The Helping Hand*

IT WAS germane to Jewish tradition that *zedakah* [ the exercise of the commands of charity and social justice] would soon pass from the private to the public domain. All Jewish communities knew some form of organized welfare, from the simplest to the most complex. After the basic religious organization had taken place, a charitable group would make its appearance.

In a way, the *hebrah kaddishah* was a social institution. It afforded personal and occasionally financial service to the family of the deceased. Members of the society would see to it that the body was washed, the grave dug, the prayer service said. If the family was poor, interment would be rendered free, and a collection in behalf of the widow and orphans would be made at the grave. This custom, quite mistakenly ascribed only to the East European Jews, was current among the German Jews as well. When, for instance, Mount Zion's young President, a founder of B'nai B'rith, passed away in 1872, a collection for the family took place at the graveside.<sup>1</sup>

Outside of *hebrah kaddishah* and synagogue, the first additional communal organizations were women's groups which dealt with small charitable problems. Taking their name from the Hebrew *gemilut hasadim* [the doing of loving kindness or benevolence], Hebrew Benevolent Societies made their appearance and were usually an indication of the progressing diversification of the community. *Bikkur Holim* and Sisters of Peace were popular names for these women's groups amongst the Eastern immigrants.<sup>2</sup> The men too might dispense occasional funds for relief

<sup>1</sup> On the death of Joseph Abeles, see *SPP*, March 29, 1872 (p. 4); *AI*, April 19, 1872; *MZM*, vol. I, April 7, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> See *AJYB*, 1907-1908 (5668), pp. 123 ff., especially pp. 223-226.

in specific instances, or they might tackle a large resettlement problem, such as the Painted Woods and Devil's Lake colonies in the eighties. They might even organize for a while into a Gentlemen's Relief or Aid Society as they did in St. Paul;<sup>3</sup> but generally, during those years of nascent stratification, the day-by-day welfare work was done by the women.

To the modern ear, such terms as Gentlemen's Relief Society or Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society have a strangely stilted and patronizing ring. To the contemporaries they were a natural outgrowth of the developing class differential. Up to 1871—that is, up to sixteen years after the formal organization of the Temple—Saint Paul's Jews had no welfare society. In their unitary community, homogeneous in background and pioneering experience, economic disaster was dealt with on a personal plane. After the end of the Civil War and the second boom period, the old settlers who had attained to status and to a modicum of security now considered themselves, literally, "Ladies and Gentlemen," as evidenced by the names they gave to their charitable enterprises.<sup>4</sup>

The organization, in 1871, of Mount Zion's Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society (commonly called HLBS) was no mere accident of time. It reflected the confluence of two social currents: the arrival of a new stratum of immigrants and the solidification of the old settlers' status. Membership in the Society soon became a matter of social privilege. It was open to

any applicant known in our circle and interested in our work.<sup>5</sup>

Social welfare still spoke in the old terms; it lacked the verbal sensitivity of later years. Society members used the non-Hebraic and somewhat jarring word "charity," and when they gave an affair to raise funds they did it outspokenly for "the benefit of the poor."<sup>6</sup> After the turn of the century this terminology gave way to the name Relief Society.<sup>7</sup> Occasionally the men would feel that

<sup>3</sup> See W. G. Plaut, *Mount Zion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 70. In 1884, the men's auxiliary at Mt. Zion was called Gentlemen's Hebrew Benevolent Society.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes, HLBS, *loc. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, *AI*, Nov. 28, 1895; Nov. 19, 1891.

<sup>7</sup> The HLBS changed its name to Jewish Relief Society in 1903; see *AI*, Oct. 15, 1903 (p. 3, col. 7). Three years thereafter it could look back on thirty-three years of work, with a membership then amounting to 241; *AI*, Feb. 22, 1906, (p. 7, col. 1). See also Daniel R. Noyes, "Charities in Minnesota," in *MHS Collections*, vol. XII (St. Paul, 1912), p. 172.

the women mixed sociability and charitableness a little too freely, and criticized their work as "fashionable amusement";<sup>8</sup> but this was unjust criticism. The women took their responsibilities seriously, and in the course of the next generation they founded institutions and organizations which proved to be far sounder than the ambitious Dakota projects of their husbands and fathers.

In 1886, there were three women's groups in St. Paul and at least the same number in Minneapolis.<sup>9</sup> Of these, only Mount Zion's HLBS is known to have kept minutes. Fortunately, the records are still extant, and while they reflect the specific composition and philosophy of the group and the environment in which the work was done, they might have been—with some minor adjustments—the reports of any of the women's groups.

The minutes are, in effect, case work reports on the last two decades of the century. They mirror the social circumstances, the condition of the welfare recipient, and the philosophy of the giver. A random selection reveals these cases:

1891. The case of Mrs. A. first appears. A license to peddle is obtained for her. Three years later, the case is still active; wood and groceries are purchased for her; a doctor is furnished. In 1898, the case is still before the Society.

November 4, 1891. The president reported that a family named B. was in destitute circumstances. "Said parties having come over from Moscow, the woman being sick, they needed our assistance. It was decided to do what was necessary for the present."

Family C. receives one-half ton of coal.

Family D. is given help repeatedly, but is later declared "unworthy of further assistance."

Mrs. E., whose case is under discussion, is present at the meeting, so that she herself might take part in a decision about her future.

One family receives train fare to Chicago; another is furnished *mazzah* money; outright cash grants are made to a third.

Railroad fares are becoming a considerable burden, and the Society decides to discontinue them, except in urgent cases. One family, dissatisfied with its prospects in America, requests funds to enable them to return to Russia.

Mrs. F. receives money for a glass eye.

A nurse is sent to assist family G.

<sup>8</sup> AI, Dec. 24, 1886.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1886.



Three children at the Owatonna State School who were orphaned are looked after. A family in Oregon is found to adopt them; and railroad fares are furnished to send the children to their new homes.

Families receive emergency funds; others are, for a specified time, on a regular weekly relief schedule, some even on a monthly basis.

Mrs. H. is given a sewing machine.

A sick committee, consisting of four different members each month, makes visits and renders necessary personal services in the home.

1897. A meeting of the HLBS was held, during which "it was decided that an attempt would be made to elevate a regular pensioner into a full fledged business man and give him a full start in the mercantile world rather than a few dollars each month."

The first contribution to the Society was 30¢, the last one listed \$190.00.

In order to qualify for assistance a family had to be "destitute and worthy."<sup>10</sup>

Occasionally, the traditional *meshullah* was found to be a fraud; and whenever one community had been so deceived, others were duly warned. Minnesota did not escape such experiences.<sup>11</sup>

More serious, however, was the increasing number of transients who became a burden to the communities. Unflattering comparisons were made between "our people" and the Scandinavian immigrant who was said to rely on his own strength rather than that of others. The Jewish community, through its very charitableness, was said to encourage floaters.

[They] lie around lazy or use Charity's money to travel around the country with. . . . It is in many cases charitable institutions that make "schnorrers," liars and impostors of men and women fully able to work. I deem it much better to give the helping hand to the fullest extent, to the deserving ones within our gates; the widow, the orphan, the sick, and other just claimants for our sympathy and help. If the means of the community allow us to do more, well and good. The Jewish hat always responds to the cry of the needy and needs no prompting to do charity.<sup>12</sup>

By 1899, the women of the various groups were ready for pooling

<sup>10</sup> Minutes, HLBS, *passim*. In 1896, Hannah Austrian was completing her twenty-fifth year as President of the society; Josephine (Mrs. Max) Frankel was Vice President; Mrs. Solomon Fox, Secretary; Mrs. Benjamin H. Plechner, Treasurer; *AI*, Dec. 24, 1896.

<sup>11</sup> *AI*, Nov. 19, 1886.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1892.

their efforts. The HLBS had already for some years joined an interdenominational "Associated Charities";<sup>13</sup> now it cooperated with the Orthodox element in a United Jewish Charities, in an attempt to tackle common problems through a single community approach.<sup>14</sup> There were a number of women's groups in both Minneapolis and St. Paul to make such joint action feasible and desirable.

In St. Paul, the Sisters of Peace Benevolent Society had already operated, since 1882, as the Orthodox counterpart to the Reform group.<sup>15</sup> The *Bikkur Holim* went back to the early 1890's and was later, like the HLBS, associated with the National Conference of Jewish Charities.<sup>16</sup> There was a specific reception group for new immigrants which also served transients, the so-called Hachnosas Orchim [*Haknasat Orhim*], and also a Charity Loan Society (which in time turned to different pursuits and became the nucleus for a Home for the Aged).<sup>17</sup> Together, these organizations were better equipped to deal with the effects of the new Russian pogroms and the resultant increase in immigration.

The Minneapolis story duplicated the St. Paul development almost exactly. The Minneapolis Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society was the city's second Jewish organization. Sparked by Baszion Rees, the mother of the Rees brothers, the group was first named in her honor but later was given the more impersonal philanthropic name.<sup>18</sup> A year after the Minneapolis HLBS had organized, the Orthodox women formed their Sisters of Peace.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Minutes, HLBS, p. 102.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>15</sup> *AJYB, 1907-1908 (5668)*, p. 226. In 1907, Mrs. Moses Shapiro was President, Mrs. Lewis Paper, Treasurer. They had eighty members and a yearly budget of almost one thousand dollars.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Founders of the society were Mrs. Aaron Mark, Mrs. Sam Coddon, and Mrs. Abrahamson; see Bernard Marx, "Anniversary Address" [typescript], in MHS. The society's name was also spelled Bichur Cholim, or Cholum.

<sup>17</sup> *First Annual Report*, Jewish Home for the Aged, 1908-1909, in Frankel papers, box 17, file 2. Officers were Mrs. Max Lavansky, President; Mrs. Abraham Lazarus, Vice President; Mrs. David Greenblatt, Treasurer. See also *infra*, chapter 30, pp. 226 ff., for details on the Home for the Aged.

<sup>18</sup> Other founders were Mesdames Jacob Cohen, Simon Gittelsohn, Jacob Skoll, Esther Konigsberger Brin, Anna Brin Burton. The roster also carried the names Krutzkoff, Pflaum, Dittenhoefer, Apt. Mary Werth was its second President, Julia Wilk its third, and Jane Michaels its fourth; the last-named holding the office for twenty-one years. In 1907, the group had 125 members. See R. Danenbaum, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 20; for further names of early workers see *AI*, Nov. 30, 1883, and Feb. 1, 1884.

<sup>19</sup> Its first president was Mrs. Nathan Gumbiner. In 1907, the group had 150

This proximity of origin, in point of time, proved significant and produced an important difference in the social work patterns of Minneapolis and St. Paul. In the older community the founding of the HLBS and the Orthodox auxiliaries had been separated by many years. Consequently it took many years before joint action was attempted and even longer before it was carried out successfully. In Minneapolis, on the other hand, the various groups combined as early as during the eighties into a United Hebrew Charities, which functioned for eight years and had at its disposal a large rented house where immigrants were housed temporarily. When immigration slackened, the organization disbanded, but it was revived again after the Kishineff massacres to receive the many arrivals who now came via the Texas port of Galveston. A Jewish Aid Association was organized which represented all factions in town. It was composed of two representatives each from the congregations and lodges—the nearest approach to an equitable and democratic concept of a united community.<sup>20</sup> Already there was talk of federating all charities. But for the time being, there was only consultation without any really effective co-ordination, and no paid worker had yet been engaged.

St. Paul too had experimented with a central coordinating committee for refugee work and, some years later, with a United Charities. These first attempts were not successful, but here too eventual total federation continued to appear inevitable for it was imperative. A reporter foresaw the coming unification and wrote: Although there are several Jewish Relief Societies which are not

---

members; Mrs. Charles Steinberg was President; Mrs. Benjamin Kruger, Vice-President; Mrs. Dora Harris, Secretary, and Mrs. Harry Edelman, Treasurer. See R. Danenbaum, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 31. Joseph Schanfeld was Chairman, Jonas Weil, Vice-Chairman; William Monasch, Treasurer; and Charles Juster, Secretary. In addition to the Sisters of Peace and the Benevolent Society, there were a number of special women's organizations dedicated to charitable enterprises: The Russian Hebrew Charity Association; the Bikkur Cholim [*sic!*] of the North Side, another on the South Side, and an Hachnosas Orchim [*Haknasat Orhim*]. There were furthermore a Free Burial Society, two free loan societies (Gemilas Chased [*sic!*] and Hebrew Free Loan Association). See *AJYB, 1907-1908* (5668), p. 224.

In 1906, a Jewish Home and Free Dispensary was added to the list; see R. Danenbaum, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 31. Samuel Alexander, Dr. Ernest Robitshek, Charles Moss and Rabbi Samuel N. Deinard were instrumental in this enterprise. Deinard and Alexander were also, with Abraham W. Caplin, guiding the Hebrew Free Loan Association.



federated, yet they work together in harmony, consulting one another as to the charity given.<sup>21</sup>

Small events cast big shadows: as the community entered its stage of greatest expansion and widest organizational diversification, the Gentlemen's Relief Society bowed out of the picture. They were gentlemen enough to have seen that they were interfering with their ladies. Henceforth, they would only give advice or contribute an occasional investigative committee. They also had enough courage to admit that what they were doing was merely duplicating efforts.<sup>22</sup> This courage would not often be mustered in the years which lay ahead for Minnesota Jewry. Welfare organizations and institutions would multiply — to say nothing of social, fraternal and other groupings. Once in existence, they would persist — often far beyond the point of effectiveness.

<sup>21</sup> *AI*, Jan. 11, 1906 (p. 3). The Jewish Relief Society had taken over the charitable work of the old HLBS (now called Temple Guild), and Sophie Wirth had in 1901 succeeded Hannah Austrian as President. Mrs. William Goodkind served as Vice President at this time. On previous coordinating efforts, see *AI*, March 1, 1894.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1895.

## *Women of Valor*

THE REVEREND Doctor Sabato Morais, one of America's leading rabbis, had a new daughter. The calendar in his home in Philadelphia showed December 6, 1855. It was *Hanukkah* time. The parents named the child Nina and raised her in an atmosphere where spirituality, tradition and modern ideas were blended harmoniously. Nina received an excellent secular education, and her home breathed a spirit of intellectual adventure and esthetic sensitivity. When she heard her father speak of the evolving needs of American Jews, she knew that he could assess his environment with a fresh eye, for he was a newcomer himself.

The Morais family, whose origins were in Italy, had recently come to America. Morais had succeeded Isaac Leeser in the pulpit of Mikveh Israel, one of the country's most historic and illustrious congregations. Morais was a man of striking appearance. His great moral courage during the Civil War earned him the respect of the larger American community. He was a political publicist, a powerful preacher, and a man of esthetic sentiments who composed poems in his spare time. His was a New World traditionalism which was free of some of its European limitations. He most strongly believed that women had rights and needed opportunities for advancement—and his daughter Nina was given liberally of both. She was soon known as an unusually gifted woman, whose ideas in politics and social matters tended toward the radical. It was even rumored that she was a suffragette! She had begun to write essays; she loved Keats and Shelley and she too tried her hand at poetry. There was force of language and genuine emotion in her poetry.

Chill falls the dusk — late the reluctant spring,  
Slow, slow the moon moves through the heavy air,

Black on the cold gray sky the branches swing,  
Making clear trceries, sharp, stark and bare.<sup>1</sup>

Nina Morais was thirty years old when she met the man she wanted to marry, Emanuel Cohen, a brilliant lawyer from Scranton, Pennsylvania, a graduate of Williams College who was her own age. Dr. Morais was just perfecting his plans for a new rabbinic seminary,<sup>2</sup> when Nina married and set out to seek new opportunities in the booming town of Minneapolis, 'way out west.

The arrival of two such outstanding persons at once made its impress on the community. Emanuel Cohen came from a more liberal religious background than his wife; he joined Shaarai Tov and taught in its religious school. He took a deep interest in all Jewish communal affairs, and was a local agent for the Baron de Hirsch Fund in the emerging resettlement problems. He understood the need for better leisure time activities and promoted the idea of a Jewish center. He became a successful insurance lawyer and was chosen a member of the city's first Charter Commission.<sup>3</sup> Twenty years after Cohen's arrival, a Jewish chronologist called him "the foremost Jew in Minneapolis"; and a grateful community in 1924 named its Jewish center, a generation after

<sup>1</sup>The poem was called "The Oriole Sings." The full text may serve as an example of her art. The poem continues:

But see in yon black tree  
A splash of gold a-wing!  
But hark from out the dark  
I hear an oriole sing!  
"Joy, joy," it cries, "the Spring is down the way!  
Swift-footed spring, chasing to-morrow's morn.  
Welcome his rains, for what can disobey  
The pattering knock that bids sweet buds be born!"  
And now, on yon black bough  
A burst of buds a-wing!  
And lo, from out my woe  
I hear an oriole sing!

(From "Memorial Program," Minneapolis, 1918, made available through the courtesy of Mrs. James Kantrowitz.)

<sup>2</sup>Sabato Morais founded the Jewish Theological Seminary, America's Conservative rabbinical academy, in 1887, after having previously staked his hopes on Hebrew Union College as the all-inclusive American seminary. After the adoption of the Pittsburgh Platform in 1885, Morais disassociated himself from Isaac M. Wise and issued a call for another school. See Abraham D. Neuman, *UJE*, vol. VII, pp. 638-640.

<sup>3</sup>He was first associated with the firm of Kitchel, Cohen and Shaw, which later became Cohen, Atwater and Shaw; R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 8.



Cohen had first inspired such an organization, the Emanuel Cohen Center.<sup>4</sup>

Nina Morais Cohen—she always proudly displayed her father's name—created her own world of activity and soon, like her husband, rose to leadership in both the Jewish and non-Jewish community. When Susan Anthony came to the city she stayed at the Cohens' home. When a Woman's City Club was formed, Nina Morais Cohen was found to be one of its organizers and charter members. When a memorial to Shelley and Keats was to be built in Rome, it was the poetess from Philadelphia who raised funds for it in Minneapolis. When she died in 1918, the *Minneapolis Journal* printed an unusual resolution which revealed the scope of her activities in the city she had made her own.

Perhaps our city has had no one woman whose quiet influence upon the spiritual and intellectual life of the community has gone out more widely and more forcefully than has that of Mrs. Cohen.<sup>5</sup>

The appreciation was signed by Mrs. Leopold Metzger for the Council of Jewish Women; Mrs. John T. Baxter for the Woman's City Club; Mrs. Andreas Ueland for the Minnesota Women's Suffrage Association; Gratia Countryman for the Public Library; and Hope McDonald for the College Women's Club.

The Council of Jewish Women rightly headed the signers. It had become Nina Cohen's central interest and most permanent memorial. For a quarter century it was her chief channel of devoted work for the upbuilding of Jewish lives and of the Jewish spirit.

In 1893, she had attended the Congress of Religions in Chicago and had been present at the formation of the National Council of Jewish Women. She was a great admirer of Hannah G. Solomon, and upon returning to Minneapolis began to gather like-minded women to found a local section of the Council. She spoke to them of a welfare program which envisaged more than short-

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*; Markens, *op. cit.*, p. 204; Minutes, Social Club (St. Paul) which first mention a YMHA in Minneapolis in 1884; AI, May 11, 1888. Cohen was an early member of the Minneapolis Club, one of the few Jews who were admitted.

<sup>5</sup> *Minneapolis Journal*, [=MJ] Feb. 23, 1918. The resolution was composed by Mrs. Maurice Wolff and is of considerable length. On other personal information about Nina Cohen, see Markens, *op. cit.*, p. 207; Memorial Program, *loc. cit.*, and a fine appreciation by Danenbaum in RA, *loc. cit.*, p. 25. Mrs. James Kantrowitz supplied personal memoirs. Nina died on Feb. 19, 1918.

range emergency care for people in need, and she impressed her friends with the urgency of gathering a group of women to whom Judaism was not merely a foreign tale, but rather a vigorous, fully living reality. On July 25, 1894, she founded the Minneapolis section of the National Council of Jewish Women for the "development of a deeper race consciousness and pride through the study of Jewish literature and history," and for "preventive and constructive philanthropy."<sup>6</sup>

High on the program was study. For thirteen years Nina Cohen taught classes in her home. Week after week on Saturday afternoons the women would assemble and be inspired by her brilliant presentations of biblical subjects and of Jewish lore and literature. Week after week there would be no fewer than twenty-five women who sat at her feet. They were the core of Council's leadership and the vanguard of those who executed its ambitious programs. They were informed not only by need but also by genuine Jewish knowledge.<sup>7</sup> It was a unique leadership training school which Nina Cohen conducted, and it could not fail but have a profound influence on the direction of Jewish life in Minneapolis. For here were recruited many of the later religious and communal leaders: Bertha Weiskopf, Mollie Metzger, Annalee Wolff, Fanny Brin, Sadye Kantrowitz and Rebecca Michaels.

Following the traditional rule that study is primary only because it is bound to lead to action, the Council naturally proceeded to a far-flung program of social work: a sewing school for immigrant girls; a vocational school on the North Side; a day nursery; the engagement of a public nurse for the city's most congested areas; cooperation with the schools on a "penny-lunch" program; and later, a fresh-air vacation camp at Lake Minnetonka. Religious school classes were organized on the North Side at Kenesseth Israel, whose building was made available for this

<sup>6</sup> Typescript by Nina Morais Cohen and Carrie M. Wolff [n.d., probably about 1910]. This source is to be preferred over others which place the origin of the section in 1893. See *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 23). *AJYB*, 1900-1901 (5661), p. 84, confirms the 1894 date.

<sup>7</sup> The rigorously high standard of these classes (which continued even after Nina Cohen no longer taught them) is attested by the syllabi which are still extant. They cover a wide range of historical and ideological subjects and go to the chief scholarly sources of the time. The syllabi cover the years 1903 to 1918 and have been made available by Mrs. James Kantrowitz.

purpose, and later at Sharei Zedek where for a number of years the "Council Sabbath School" was a popular educational activity.<sup>8</sup>

Three months after Nina Cohen had moved the women of her own city to organize a Council section, she was equally successful in St. Paul. Rachel Haas had also been in Chicago, sent there by her Temple auxiliary, and upon her return she quickly followed the urgings of Nina Cohen. A St. Paul chapter was established, the vestry rooms of Mount Zion were obtained for meetings, and a program was initiated which paralleled that of the Minneapolis chapter. There were classes in Bible and history, and the women attempted to create a Jewish reference library. They read papers on "Solomon and the Sub-Division of the Kingdom, compared to the Reign of Charlemagne"; on "Eve and Sarah"—but there was no Nina Cohen in St. Paul. Her great intellectual magnetism which was the central force of the Minneapolis study classes, could not be duplicated. While study and cultural pursuits were always deemed an important part of its activities and had capable leaders, the St. Paul section turned during its first years to action programs which were to make social history in the community.<sup>9</sup>

\* *AI*, June 5, 1919. The first officers of the section were Nina M. Cohen, President; Minna Sinsheimer, Vice President; Betty Weisner, Treasurer; Mamie Lehmaier, Secretary; Trustees: Mesdames Nathan Gumbiner, Benjamin Kruger, Louis Shilt and Joseph Michaels. See R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 25; *AJW*, July 30, 1915; *60th Anniversary Book*, Minneapolis Council of Jewish Women, 1954 (which has pictures of the early leaders); see also Council's *Anniversary Book*, 1948. The section was incorporated in 1904; Nina M. Cohen was President until 1907, when she was succeeded by Mrs. Henry Weiskopf. Nina Cohen never quite adjusted herself to the Reform ritual and, despite her deeply religious bent, was only a rare visitor at services. See also *AI*, June 6, 1895, for Council's work of the earliest days. Significantly, the correspondent who reported the organization of a religious school on the North Side described it as follows: "The ladies started . . . a Sabbath-school for the children of the poor Yehudim, who are badly in need of all sorts of instruction."

On an example of later leadership, see *AJW*, May 10, 1918, when Mrs. Maurice Wolff was president.

<sup>9</sup> On the early days of the section, see Minutes, HLBS, p. 36; *AJYB*, 1900-1901 (5661), p. 84, which gives the organization date as Oct. 21, 1894; *AI*, Nov. 1, 1894; *MZM*, vol. IV, 1st Sunday, 1894 (p. 84); *AI*, Feb. 7, and June 13, 1895. First officers were Rachel (Mrs. Henry) Haas, President; Mrs. Charles Straus, Vice President, and Mrs. Henry Stein, Secretary.

In 1900, Rachel Haas resigned and was succeeded by Mrs. Isaac (Esther) Rypins, wife of the Rabbi. See *AI*, May 24, 1900. Also that year, the St. Paul section withdrew from the national organization and under the leadership of Rabbi and Mrs. Isaac Rypins and of Julia Hess became largely a study group



In conjunction with Mount Zion's Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society, which contributed one hundred dollars to its first funds, an "Industrial School" was begun on the West Side. This was a direct continuation of the sewing classes which the Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society had started two years earlier. In the spring of 1895 the school was opened in rented rooms on Fairfield Avenue, and the two sponsoring organizations were

very hopeful . . . that this most worthy charity will prove a Blessing to the children of the poor.<sup>10</sup>

As the school got under way, no fewer than seventy-three girls were present, eager to learn home and industrial arts, to study English and to participate in a general Americanization program. A year later, the sponsors noted the beginning of a new summer program with special ceremonies, and a visitor reported:

The Industrial School was formally opened last Thursday. The teachers were delighted over the improved appearance of the children over their first appearance last year. Mrs. Wirth, the chairman of the school, welcomed the children in a few kind words, after which Dr. Hess offered a prayer and then spoke to the children in a very happy strain. From present appearances, the school will be even a greater success this year than last.<sup>11</sup>

That year, winter activities were added, and the program was described not only as industrial but also as "industrious."<sup>12</sup> There was indeed much opportunity for constructive social work in this part of town, known as the "flats."

and a virtual part of the Mount Zion organization. See *AI*, Nov. 29, 1900. As late as 1913, the question of amalgamating the Council with the Temple Guild was on the Council agenda. See *AI*, April 17, 1913. The St. Paul Council at that time considered itself largely a cultural group with definite responsibilities toward the Temple. See *MZM*, vol. V, Jan. 4, 1914. The change into a wider community organization occurred in 1918. See *infra*, chapter 29, p. 221. On further Council data, programs and officers, see *AI*, May 10, 1910 (Josephine Frankel, President); May 23, 1911 (Julia Hess, President); Nov. 23, 1911; March 14, June 6, 1912; May 29, 1913; March 26, May 14, 1914; March 11 and May 15, 1915; May 11, 1916; Jan. 17, Feb. 14, May 10, 1918 (President, Esther Rypins); March 7 and 14, April 11, May 16, 1918; June 5, 1919 (President, Agatha Reuler); Feb. 12, 1920; *MZM*, vol. V, Sept. 7, 1933, p. 155. The St. Paul Section reaffiliated with the National Council in 1909; *AI*, Nov. 18, 1909. See also *AJYB*, 1899-1900 (5660), pp. 52-53; 1907-1908 (5668), p. 34.

<sup>10</sup> Minutes HLBS, p. 63; *AI*, April 27, 1893; April 11, 1895.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, June 11, 1896; Aug. 27, 1896.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, March 25, 1897.

Here within easy walking distance of the business and industrial sections of the city, lived the latest migrants to St. Paul. The panic of 1893 had brought unemployment, poverty and fear to the residents of the "flats"; but by 1897 the population consisting of various nationalities, backgrounds, had once more found economic security. The population was composed of early settlers to St. Paul, including some Irish who had migrated to this country in the 1840's and 1850's, as well as some Germans who had come to this country in the 1850's and 1860's. The largest number of this population was Jewish and included persons who had just recently come to the United States from Lithuania, Poland and Russia.

The economic and social life of the residents of the area was simple. Their needs, which were few, were met through their own efforts. Though the majority of the group were employed as laborers, many provided for their families by peddling various articles or by managing small stores. The group was then largely made up of foreign born persons, characterized by their habits of frugality, hard work, a desire to enter into the life of the community, and also to learn more about the customs, practices and traditions of the United States.<sup>13</sup>

The school offered lessons in sewing, dress-making, darning and mending, and making new clothes from old; there were picnics, and soon also a boys' manual training department.<sup>14</sup>

The spark plug behind this work was a dynamic woman who, in her way, was Nina Cohen's St. Paul complement. She had been born Sophia Feist on May 12, 1848, in Oppenheim, Germany, and had at an early age been brought to America to be educated in a Milwaukee school. She married Jacob Wirth, moved to St. Paul, and as Sophie Wirth soon made her place in the city. An indefatigable leader, she worked closely with Hannah Austrian and became Vice-President of the Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society. The mid-nineties found her great capabilities ideally suited for the solution of the multiplying welfare problems. When after Hannah Austrian's retirement the Society was reorganized into two separate sections, one, the Temple Guild, was assigned the specific work of a synagogue auxiliary; the other was henceforth known as the Jewish Relief Society and was to assume responsibility for social welfare problems. Sophie Wirth was the natural

<sup>13</sup> St. Paul Neighborhood House, *Fiftieth Anniversary* (St. Paul, 1947).

<sup>14</sup> *AI*, July 8 and Oct. 27, 1897.

head for this latter organization. She had been the one to propose and organize the Industrial School, she had obtained the Temple's help for that enterprise, and she had persuaded Council to lend a helping hand; and a short time thereafter she founded the Jewish Day Nursery. For many years she presided over the Jewish Relief Society and was generally considered St. Paul's outstanding symbol of the Jewish volunteer social worker. National leaders recognized her contribution and made her Vice-President of the Jewish Charities, and the local Council, years later, named its summer camp after her.<sup>15</sup>

It was 1897; there were both boys and girls in the Industrial School this year. More and more immigrants were settling on the West Side. Slowly the work of the School began to expand. The women now conducted social programs with greater frequency. The classes were extended to adults as well. The modest quarters served now as a real "Neighborhood House," and the institution—for such it had in fact become—was called by this generic name from now on. By 1900, Neighborhood House was an established social entity in St. Paul. It was served by Mount Zion's women with the aid of Council, under the supervision of Sophie Wirth and the Rabbi, first Emanuel Hess, and then Isaac Rypins. The latter was described as "an enthusiast on the subject";<sup>16</sup> and indeed the enterprise now began to ramify far beyond the founders' dreams. Other settlers in the flats thronged its premises in such numbers that in 1903 Neighborhood House was put on a wider, non-sectarian basis and turned from a purely Jewish social effort into the channels of total community service. Wrote a local historian:

In 1903 in order to meet the needs of the community more effectively, Neighborhood House was re-organized on a non-sectarian basis. Catholics and Protestants now joined with the people of Mount Zion Temple to serve the residents of the "flats" to helping the individual through fostering family and neighborly friendliness and through

<sup>15</sup> MZM, vol. IV, Oct. 4, 1896 (p. 124); *AI*, June 2, 1904 (p. 3); *AJYB*, 1905–1906 (5666), p. 117. On her sixtieth birthday she was honored with an elaborate celebration. See *AI*, May 21, 1908 (p. 2); *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937.

<sup>16</sup> *AI*, March 29, 1900. Rypins taught English at night, as did Samuel N. Deinard and Louis Frankel; *ibid.*, May 24 and Nov. 29, 1900. See also MZM, vol. IV, Sept. 2, 1900.



cultivating human relationships across the lines of race and language, conditions, party and creed.<sup>17</sup>

In the years to come Neighborhood House gained a splendid reputation for its intercultural programs and its magnificent service to an increasing variety of religious and national groups. For St. Paul's Jews it became the starting point for many who would later achieve economic affluence and professional competence. Here future novelists Max Shulman and Norman Katkov and journalist Shlomo Katz received their first vivid impressions; here chronicler William Hoffman first listened to the small talk of neighbors and friends;<sup>18</sup> and here they all broke the old ghetto walls by mingling intimately with old and new settlers from many parts of the globe. Here St. Paul's Jewish women had initiated a community project of lasting significance.

An early annual report of the institution made this observation: It has been truly said that St. Paul has no slums. The Neighborhood House hopes that St. Paul may never have real slums and tries to make that hope a reality.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> St. Paul Neighborhood House, *Fiftieth Anniversary, op. cit.* The pamphlet is in error when it states:

The opening of Neighborhood House in 1897 through the efforts of Rabbi Isaac L. Rypins and Mrs. Sophie Wirth, together with others of Mount Zion Temple . . ."

In 1897, Rabbi Hess was still serving. Rabbi Rypins came to St. Paul in 1899. During the twenty-two years of his incumbency he remained indeed a commanding influence in the institution. In order to emphasize the original relationship to Neighborhood House, the Rabbis of Mount Zion have always served on its board, even though the West Side was, at mid-century, almost emptied of Jews.

<sup>18</sup> William Hoffman, *Those Were the Days* (Minneapolis, 1957), gives a heart-warming account of St. Paul's old West Side.

<sup>19</sup> St. Paul Neighborhood House, *Annual Report, 1905-1906*, p. 7. The House was then located at 153 Robert Street and served "Russian, Jewish, Syrian and Swedish" immigrants. Its first full-time director was Miss Pentland, with a staff of one other worker. Clara N. Kellogg became director in 1905, Cecile Hays in 1912, Gertrude Murrell in 1913. On June 13, 1918, Constance Currie became the executive and for more than a generation was the well-beloved "mother" of the West Side. She died in 1957 when Neighborhood House contemplated moving from its location in the flats to the hill section. Among the early larger donors to the institution were the Jacob Dittenhofer, Charles Straus, Goodkind and Rose families. See Minutes of Neighborhood House [typescript], in Archives of Neighborhood House, *passim*.

## *Society Column*

IMMIGRANTS HAD come to America in quest of a better life. Most of them started their journey in the New World at the bottom of the social and economic ladder and were, often for the rest of their lives, concerned with raising their living standards. The immigrant was, as Max Lerner called him, "a man in a hurry, not only to make money, but to show he had made it, not only to sow the crop of his labor and ingenuity but to reap the harvest of his success."<sup>1</sup> Social distinctions became the outward measures of personal progress.

By the end of the nineteenth century the various social layers within the major Jewish communities had become well differentiated. At the bottom was the new immigrant, living in crowded quarters not too far from the downtown section. He worked in factories, in small and large shops; and he went on foot (and, as his earnings increased, by horse and wagon) to peddle in the countryside. His social life was limited by the requirements of his job, by the pressing need of using all hours for making a living. What social life there was revolved around the synagogue, the developing settlement houses, the fraternities and *Landsmannschaften* — insurance and social groups which were organized according to the local origin of their members and were often called after a Russian town or *gubernia*. It was a self-limiting relationship which carried much of the flavor of the old home into the new surroundings. Even political and labor associations were patterned after European models. The language used was always Yiddish, in its varying accents. The great Yiddish dailies out of Chicago and New York supplied both news and

<sup>1</sup> Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization* (New York, 1957), p. 89.

culture and kept the readers close to the great political and cultural currents which were agitating Jewish life. Some read the Hebrew press, but they were few. The women stayed close to home; they had their hands full with the problem of raising their large families and making ends meet for them. They sewed and scrubbed and helped their husbands in the small basement grocery; they saw each other at the kosher meat market and exchanged the news; and those who had time and energy joined in the synagogue women's groups or the ladies' auxiliaries of the B'rith Abraham lodges. Not that the women had far to go to look for philanthropic opportunities: every week, every day brought new immigrants. Relatives of the third and fourth degree had to be put up in already restricted quarters, and immigrants who came from the old home town were also automatically classified as relatives. At night many of the adults went to English classes and took courses in preparation for citizenship. The youngsters came home from school and began to speak of such new-fangled things as baseball and football. But these were terms for which the older generations had no time: for the overriding problem was, and remained for some time to come, the stark and ever-present problem of making a living for the family. Social life was potentially rich and variegated, but in the early days of the immigrant it was largely submerged in economic need.

Above the recent immigrant class was a layer of older Eastern European Jewish settlers. These lived around Payne Avenue and uptown toward Capitol Hill in St. Paul and on the farther reaches of Minneapolis' South Side, toward Franklin Avenue. Few of them had ever been factory workers and most had already successfully passed the peddling stage. They had been in the city for fifteen or twenty years, they now used English with fluency and even spoke it occasionally at home. They had stores and jobbing houses and were distinctly part of the middle class. There was more leisure time here, and consequently more organizational ramification. The women participated more freely in Jewish social and philanthropic efforts and began to join hands with the German group in these fields of common interest. Some of them had permanent or part-time domestic help, and theirs was a distinct sense of superiority over the recent arrivals who were



still mired in the economic backwaters of the big American town. Their children were totally Americanized, had graduated from High School, and some were now at the University. There was an emerging tendency toward residential separation: the middle layer dwelt near the older German section, where such a section existed, and the synagogues of these two groups were close to one another. It was no accident that in 1900, Adath Jeshurun and Shaarai Tov were located in close proximity to each other, and that the first Sons of Jacob Synagogue was one block away from Mount Zion. In St. Paul, none of this second layer lived on the West Side. Only after the turn of the century did the lowest economic group move into the Capitol Hill section, next to the remnants of the second layer. Significantly, the common name for the section was henceforth "lower town"; for both top layers of the Jewish community now resided in a new "uptown."

The upper group consisted of Jews from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia and Alsatian France—Western Jews who had in common that they spoke German as their native tongue or knew it as their old family language. They referred to themselves as *Deutsche Yehudim*. Their length of residence in the city varied. Some of them, as in St. Paul, had come with the building of city and state, and some were greenhorns like other immigrants. But even the latest arrivals, however poor they might be (and many of them were quite poor), fell into the social nexus of the upper group. Here, the tone was set by the old families—although what was considered "old" underwent its own laws of metamorphosis. The Goodkinds, Guitermans, Dittenhofers and Baers were soon considered "old settlers," even though they had arrived a full generation later than the first Jewish settlers in St. Paul.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Leo Guiterman, for example, came to St. Paul from Cincinnati in 1876; see W. B. Hennessy, *op. cit.*, p. 366. The Elsingers came in 1878 from Cleveland; see *AJW*, June 17, 1917 (on the occasion of Joseph Elsinger's death), also Burnquist, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 66–67. Adolph Hirschman came in 1882; see W. B. Hennessy, *op. cit.*, p. 734.

Ben Baer, an Alsatian by birth, came to the Black Hills, South Dakota, in April, 1876, and did not settle in St. Paul until 1899. Baer had married Ida Florsheim, a New York girl, in 1884, in a ceremony in St. Joseph, Mo., and brought her to Deadwood, S. D., where she died and was buried in 1899. While in Deadwood, Baer was associated with a syndicate headed by New York railroad magnate Edward H. Harriman and was active in gold mining and

To some extent economic success determined the inner stratification of this group, but it was not yet as decisive as it would become two generations later. There was a question of *yihus* [pedigree] which played a significant part; there was a certain cultural and intellectual homogeneity which found its expression in synagogue, lodge, and in philanthropy. The existence of social clubs was a distinctive feature of the top group.

The group was conscious of status, and while it looked to the Gentile world for some degree of approval, as a constant check on its basic security, it built its status walls almost completely within the Jewish group. All read the *American Israelite* regularly, for it recounted their social doings, so that they themselves and their friends in other cities might know the "news."

In the top group, social life was top news. Families in the uppermost stratum had achieved economic security, and a number of them had attained great wealth. These maintained large homes; in St. Paul they began to move away from Eighth and Ninth Streets and bought or built along Dayton or even Summit Avenue, and in Minneapolis they crossed the Franklin Avenue line. Large homes meant domestic help, and domestic help meant more leisure for the women. As everywhere and always, the women of leisure were the so-called Society; and in personal habit, in outlook, in interest and standards Jewish society was as far removed from the new West Side settlers as James J. Hill was from his latest railroad hand. The politics and economic views of the upper level were conservative. A strike, such as that of the St. Paul and Minneapolis streetcar workers, met with complete lack of understanding.<sup>3</sup>

The bottom layer knew as yet nothing and cared less about the

---

banking (see *Deadwood Daily Times*, Aug. 13, 1892; July 8, 1902; May 10, 1923). In St. Paul, Baer became President of the American National Bank in 1909, a post he held until his death in 1921; Ms. by Berthold Jacobs, *Deadwood*, South Dakota, dated Dec. 11, 1953, in possession of Mr. Bernard Postal; oral testimony of Ira and Edwin Baer, sons of Ben (St. Paul, 1956).

The Goodkinds came in 1871; see *MB*, pp. 263-264; *BoM*, pp. 187-188. Jacob Dittenhofer arrived in 1886. He was born in Cleveland on Oct. 19, 1845, and died in St. Paul on Nov. 15, 1931; see *SPPP*, Nov. 16, 1931. His son, Samuel, was born in Cleveland in 1877. The Dittenhofers controlled the Golden Rule department store.

These families were, at the turn of the century, among the Jewish business leaders of St. Paul. They form the second generation of settlers.

<sup>3</sup> See *AI*, April 25, 1889.

life of the upper stratum, but the middle group began to care and adopt some of its ways.<sup>4</sup> The patterns formed by the top group thus became important for the life of the total Jewish community as it emerged from economic need to sufficiency and progressed toward middle class affluency.

Glimpses into the social life of the "German Jews" of that time reveal the shape of things to come.

In 1879, the silver anniversary of a prominent family was described as follows:

Although no invitations were given, at about two o'clock in the afternoon most of our Jewish ladies, young and old took possession of their house and extended their best wishes and congratulations to the couple; their parlors were filled with the most beautiful flowers of the season, and the tables with most elegant presents from friends here and in St. Louis and Chicago. In the evening nearly all the gentlemen of our co-religionists and also some Christian friends came pouring in until all the rooms were full. . . . There was a spacious table laden with all the delicacies that this, or any country can produce.<sup>5</sup>

The society columnist lavished much attention on the clothes worn at a children's ball.<sup>6</sup>

The wedding of Fannie Goodkind and Ambrose Guiterman, in 1887, was reported in detail as "the most brilliant Jewish Society event."<sup>7</sup> A year later the wedding of the Ike Sternbergs attracted wide attention. It was held at the Standard Club; Seibert's Orchestra played for the wedding and the entertainment afterward (musical aside: the Lohengrin march was already a must). The bride entered with her father, the groom with the bride's mother. There was a flower arch from which a "Lover's Knot" was suspended.<sup>8</sup>

There was no question who belonged to "Society." A complete list of those attending the silver wedding anniversary of the Isidor Roses was equivalent to the local Jewish social register.<sup>9</sup> People were vacationing in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin, and nu-

<sup>4</sup> Already in the 1890's the middle group announced weddings with engraved invitations.

<sup>5</sup> *AI*, Oct. 17, 1879.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, March 5, 1884.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1887.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1888.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, May 29, 1890 (p. 5).



merous families went to Europe for the summer.<sup>10</sup> Even so, a visit of a St. Paul belle to a Minneapolis home was still worthy of note and was listed under the heading of "Society Travel."<sup>11</sup>

Men and women played cards in the Lafayette or Harmony Whist Clubs, and those who had moved uptown, "the Ladies of Dayton Avenue," joined the "E" or Euchre Club. The young women belonged to a Cinch Club, were enthusiastic bicyclists and often joined with the gentlemen in an outing at Kohlman's Lake—chaperoned, of course, as the correspondent did not fail to point out. Well past the century mark the Standard Club remained the focal point of the social life of the upper class.<sup>12</sup>

Dissatisfied with the exclusiveness of the Fortnightly Club, Rabbi Hess encouraged the formation of a more democratic organization, symbolically named Progressus.<sup>13</sup> It met in the Temple rather than in the Standard Club. Often the Rabbi lectured before it after Friday night services. It had its own social events:

For the first time in the history of our saintly city has it come to pass that we were able to witness a minstrel performance given by Jewish young men under the auspices of the "Progressus." The performance was a very acceptable one in every way.<sup>14</sup>

How far the Progressus was successful in drawing to itself members of the next social layer is not known. Yet the attempt was significant in itself. It drew into question the meaning of social status as such. In an expanding community the Fortnightly's tight social boundaries became artificial; they made the club sterile and caused its early dissolution.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1891; Sept. 10, 1896; MZM, June 7, 1891 (p. 19).

<sup>11</sup> *AI*, Aug. 31, 1888.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1893; Nov. 15, 1894; Feb. 25, 1895; Aug. 6 and Oct. 1, 1896; June 17, 1897; Feb. 3, 1898; April 23, 1903. The Standard Club was at that time located at Eighth and Jackson Streets. Its officers are listed *ibid.*, June 13, 1895.

<sup>13</sup> See *supra*, chapter 16, p. 113, note 9; *AI*, June 13, 1895. The Fortnightly was limited to thirty-five members. Progressus was founded by Rabbi Emanuel Hess; it was a successor to the Progress Literary Association, founded in 1887 by Rabbi Samuel Freuder. See *AI*, Feb. 25, 1887, for details and officers; on Progressus: *ibid.*, March 29, 1894. On Samuel Freuder, see *infra*, chapter 25, p. 187, note 21.

<sup>14</sup> *AI*, Nov. 1, 1894; MZM, vol. IV, Oct. 7, 1894 (p. 81). Almost exactly fifty years later, in the winter of 1953–1954 another minstrel performance, this one under the auspices of Hillcrest (the Jewish country club), aroused determined opposition from some of its members. They held that such a performance was undignified and forgetful of the sentiments of the Negro.

A Minneapolis correspondent who signed her pen name as "Lucille" recorded that despite the cold weather there were many social events, and at least one ball each month. But, she added wistfully a month later, despite all this and despite the fact that it was a leap-year, not a single engagement had been announced so far. No wonder that the departure from the city of a young eligible and "most popular" bachelor was noted with open regret.<sup>15</sup>

The upper set in the Flour City had its Apollo Club, Literary Society, and the socially required Whist Club; the younger set belonged to the Manhattan Club or the "Young People's Literary and Social Club." Parties were given in the Phoenix Club (successor to the Apollo) which was located in the Lyceum Theatre building and later in its own quarters at 718 Hennepin. By 1907, these clubs had largely disappeared, and about the same time they began to disappear in St. Paul also. Widening social relationships and shifts in personal fortunes made these tightly knit organizations difficult to maintain. Over the years, only those institutions which were sparked by a larger purpose, like synagogues, schools, fraternal lodges, political and social welfare groups, showed any degree of permanence.<sup>16</sup>

Synagogue fairs were great social events which lasted up to a week. They were opened by civic dignitaries who were often drawn from both cities. Orchestras played and a full-dress ball was the climax.

The finest social affair of the season . . . It was attended by all the *elite* Jewish Society, and many Gentiles were also present. The affair was so brilliant and enjoyable that our local papers were united in sounding praises for the fine appearance, perfect manners and great sociability of our people.<sup>17</sup>

At birthday and anniversary parties, reporters would note

<sup>15</sup> *AI*, March 9, April 13, and Jan. 13, 1888.

<sup>16</sup> The Apollo Club was organized in 1883; see *AI*, Nov. 30, 1883, May 30, 1884; April 17, 1890; Dec. 28, 1888 (the Literary Society is "dead"). R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8, 30, 31, 36; *AJYB*, 1899-1900 (5660), p. 167, which gives the founding date of the Phoenix Club as 1890, and lists personnel and other details. *AI*, Oct. 26, 1888, which lists founders of the Manhattan Club; see also *ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1892; Feb. 16, 1899.

<sup>17</sup> Report on the fair given by Shaarai Tov in 1888. Because of the heavy drain made on the resources of the community in behalf of the Devil's Lake colony, the affair was financially unsuccessful; *AI*, Nov. 16 and 23, 1888.

the "numerous costly and elegant gifts" and describe them in detail.<sup>18</sup>

Society was rocked when a well-known Jewish business man from the East who was visiting St. Paul committed suicide in his hotel room, and when one of the city's best known couples, who had just moved into their new house, was found asphyxiated. Cause of the tragedy: a leaking gas jet.<sup>19</sup>

Divorces were rare. The upper set recorded fewer than half a dozen in twenty-five years.<sup>20</sup>

The women did not play cards during the daytime, but tended to charitable enterprises. At social events the younger and older generations always went together. At parties, whist and euchre were customary games; bridge came much later. The caustic critic who wrote that American Jews read little and played much, was probably not far from the mark in Minnesota.<sup>21</sup>

Social contact between the Jews of Minneapolis and St. Paul was growing. Private carriages would take parties to the other town.

The leaders in social life were also leaders in the Temple. In this group, reasonably regular synagogue attendance on the Sabbath was customary in the earlier days.<sup>22</sup>

When the daily press reported on Jewish society, it did so extensively. The marriage of a prominent couple would bring forth a full newspaper column. Readers could pick out these highlights:

The parlor of the Standard Club, in the Cambridge block, is to be the scene of the ceremony. The wedding party, though it includes fifty guests, is only a family party, as none but relatives have been invited.

Beneath an arbor of smilax and pink blossoms the wedding party will meet. Rabbi H[enry J.] Messing, St. Louis, the bride's uncle, and Rabbi I[saac] L. Rypins, St. Paul, will read the marriage service.

<sup>18</sup> One Minneapolis wedding noted "many handsome and useful presents"; another, "numerous costly and elegant gifts, many of which came from the East. Among them was a magnificent ornamental bronze clock. . . ." *AI*, April 18, 1889. For other anniversary celebrations, see *ibid.*, Feb. 25, and March 25, 1887.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1889; May 12, 1892.

<sup>20</sup> H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted by John Higham, "Social Discrimination Against Jews in America," *PAJHS*, vol. XLVII, no. 1 (Sept. 1957), p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> The author is indebted to Mrs. Max Strouse and Mrs. Albert N. Rose, Sr., for sharing their recollections with him (1956).



The bride's gown was traditional: of white chiffon, with lace trim, flowing sleeves and court train. A tulle veil of full length and a shower bouquet of lilies of the valley completed the bridal costume. The groom's mother, it was noted, had purchased her gown in Paris, France. A string orchestra played the wedding music. Decorations were elaborate.

Stands of ferns fill each corner of the dining room. Smilax trails across the banquet table and pink roses and carnations carry out the color note of pink and green.

In Cambridge hall proper a reception will be held this evening. The green festoons on the walls, the festoons of smilax that fall from the balcony rails and four wedding bells of tiny pink blossoms will make a most effective setting for the prettily gowned women. Informal dancing will follow the reception.<sup>23</sup>

In 1907, in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of St. Paul's Jewish community, Ruby Danenbaum and Hiram D. Frankel composed a history of the Jewish community in the Twin Cities. In effect, they also composed a complete, or nearly complete, social register of their day, which included all the leading women, the professional and business men.<sup>24</sup> Most of these belonged to the German group—most, but by no means all. The circle was widening.

<sup>23</sup> *SPPP*, Feb. 6, 1905. This was the wedding of Joseph G. Simon to Laura Morganstern, later for many years President of Mount Zion's Sisterhood, and in 1958 a lady in her eighties.

<sup>24</sup> H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 41 ff. The Frankel article lists, among others, the following St. Paul businessmen: Jacob Dittenhofer, Samuel Dittenhofer, Joseph Elsinger, Benjamin, Leo and William Goodkind, Ambrose Guiterman, Daniel Aberle, L. Eppstein, Adolph and Benjamin Hirschman, Nathan E. Solomon, Harry L. Levy, and among the large furniture houses: Cardozo, Standard, and St. Paul House Furnishing.

R. Danenbaum's Minneapolis list (*loc. cit.*, pp. 7-40) is more elaborate and annotated with short biographies of Ralph and Gustave Rees, Jacob Cohen, Gustave and Samuel Pflaum, Max M. Segelbaum, Max Wolff, Samuel Jacobs, Dr. Isaac N. Cohen, Edward Bernstein, Abraham Stromberg, George G. Jacoby, Isaac Weil, Joseph M. Davis, Charles Moss, Emile Adelsheim, Henry Weiskoff, Simon Meyers, Louis C. Levy, Joseph and Dr. Emil Robitshek, Max Frank, Emanuel Cohen, Jacob Harpman, Sigmund Taussig, Samuel Alexander, William Monasch, Maurice L. Rothschild, David Simon, Leopold Metzger, Joseph Michaels, Emanuel Kayser, Ben Heller and Robert Kolliner. The women listed are: Baszion Weinschenk Rees, Marlchen Deutsch, Mary Werth, Julia Levy Wilk, Mamie Moss, Minna Rothschild, Jane Smit Michaels, Dena Harpman, Sarah Frank, Rose Davis, Hannah Weil, Ida Heller, Bertha Weiskoff, and Nina Morais Cohen.

Many others are listed by name, but without biographical notations of length.

## *The Fountains of Knowledge*

IN EVERY civilization there exists two cultures side by side, an educated and a popular culture. The former is "to know the best that has been said and thought";<sup>1</sup> the latter refers to that which is thought, said and liked by the many. Both have their place in the life design of a people, for both are part of its living organism.<sup>2</sup>

The culture patterns of the growing Jewish communities bore evidence of their diverse human elements. They ranged all the way from the transplanted *yeshibah bahur* [Talmud student] on Minneapolis' North Side, who continued to study Talmud as he had done in Vilna, to the esthetic poetry of Nina Cohen; from the enjoyment of the *kasatzke* and *polka* music to membership in the Ladies' Thursday Musical, a "local high class organization of six hundred members, many of whom are Jewish."<sup>3</sup>

"Have Labor-Saving Devices Benefited Civilization or Not?" the Progressus members wanted to know, while the Council women spent an afternoon with this ambitious program:

A History of the Times;

The Book of Jonah in Literature and Ethics;

A Preliminary Glance at the Prophets (by the Rabbi).

Meanwhile, the socialites of the Fortnightly spent a day informing themselves on matters such as these:

Some Points in Law a Woman Should Know;

The Life of Hermann;

Cultivation of Memory;

New Books of the Month;

Items of Interest.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma* (New York, 1914), p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Max Lerner, *op. cit.*, pp. 780 ff.

<sup>3</sup> R. Danenbaum, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *AI*, Jan. 28, March 29, 1894; March 25, 1897. In Minneapolis there was at

Jews of all classes crowded the Temple auditorium to hear Chicago's silver tongued orator, Emil G. Hirsch, speak on "The American Spirit";<sup>5</sup> and Pittsburgh's Rabbi I. Leonard Levy came all the way to instruct the community on the subject: "The Japanese People and the Worthy Lesson the Occident Might Learn from Them."<sup>6</sup> Jewish books, even when written in English, found few purchasers. In 1900, the Jewish Publication Society had sixteen subscribers in St. Paul, thirty in Minneapolis, and a few others scattered in the state.<sup>7</sup> Four times Rabbi Samuel N. Deinard over-estimated the willingness of metropolitan Jewry to support a Jewish paper of their own. All four efforts failed: *The Israelite of the Twin Cities*, *The Jewish Progress of the Twin Cities*, *The Judean*, *The Scribe*. Not until 1912, when the second generation of the East European community had grown up, could the venture succeed with his fifth attempt, *The American Jewish World*.<sup>8</sup>

Julia Hess, commenting on Christian attitudes, bitterly assailed the assimilation of the rich:

The Jew who indifferently abandons his Judaism must realize that he gains but the disrespect of his Christian friends, since yielding of principle too often indicates material gain as an end in view.<sup>9</sup>

But there were people who were quite aware of and concerned with the need for greater Jewish knowledge, and they were providing the Rabbis' voices with a wider sounding board. Classes on Jewish subjects increased. While some of the socialites studied English history, others studied Heinrich Graetz' *History of the Jews*, heard papers on "Review of Professor Jastrow's Articles on the Bible and the Assyrian Monuments," or on "Browning in Relation to Jewish Subjects."<sup>10</sup>

The pursuit of Jewish knowledge, however shallow much of it

---

this time also a Young Men's Literary Association, closely connected with the Temple.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1906.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, May 10, 1906.

<sup>7</sup> *AJYB*, 1900-1901 (5661), pp. 689-690. Bernard Silberstein in Duluth was an early director of the Society.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1905-1906 (5666), p. 184; *JE*, vol. VIII, p. 600; A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34. See *infra*, chapter 28, p. 214.

<sup>9</sup> *AI*, Nov. 19, 1903 (p. 5).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1895; Oct. 28, 1897; Jan. 20, 1898.



doubtlessly was, turned out to be a significant social leveler. By its very nature it attracted like-minded people who were more interested in learning than in observing time-worn conventions. In 1905, a Jewish Study Circle was founded in St. Paul which drew on men and women from various congregations. Its lecturers also came from different backgrounds. The topics reflected a broader approach and new interests:

Anti-Semitism (Dr. Marcus Tessler);  
 Race or Religion? (David Frankel);  
 Science and Religion (Rabbi Hess);  
 Two debates on Judaism (Ethel Calmenson, Sylvan Hess, Rabbi Deinard, Rabbi Rypins, Benjamin Calmenson);  
 The Philosophy of Judaism (Rabbi Rypins);  
 Religious Education of the Jewish Child (Rabbi Deinard);  
 The Maccabees (Estelle Firestone);  
 Jewish Poetry (Gustavus Loevinger).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 11 (p. 3) and June 7, 1906 (p. 3); June 11, 1908. The Study Circle was under the auspices of the Intellectual Advancement Committee of B'nai B'rith, and was guided by Julia Hess, who was signally honored by the grateful members. She had also for some years conducted a class in Ethics at Mount Zion Temple; *ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1906. Fifty years later her brother, Sylvan, then of New York, paid her a moving tribute in which he called her service to the community "characterized by utter devotion and unselfishness. She had given a truly great amount of time to a thorough study of Jewish history and of current American Jewish thought, and she knew most of the then eminent American Rabbis . . ." (personal communication, 1955). Julia Hess later left for Erie, Pa., to become field secretary of an orphan home (see *AI*, Aug. 31, 1916). After her death, the Council of Jewish Women established a free loan fund at the University in her name.

Marcus Tessler was one of the cities' most prominent physicians. He was born in Kremenets, Russia, on Jan. 22, 1870. For a while, he attended Hebrew Union College in pursuit of a rabbinical career, but subsequently turned to medicine and was graduated from Rush Medical College in 1897. At thirty-two, he had become President of Mount Zion and had later gone abroad for further study. On his return, in 1908, he died tragically at the age of thirty-nine. He had a fine Jewish background and wrote imaginatively. See Mount Zion, *Fair Souvenir*, (1902); *MZM*, vol. IV, Feb. 3, 1901; vol. IV, Nov. 1, 1908; *AI*, May 9, 1907; Oct. 29, 1908 (where his death is recorded).

Gustavus Loevinger, another of the lecturers, was then one of the promising young lawyers. He was born on March 4, 1881, in Bavaria, had come to the United States at the age of eight and was raised in Mitchell, South Dakota, where he graduated from Wesleyan College. There were few Jewish causes in which Loevinger in the subsequent decades did not take a commanding interest. He served as President of District Lodge No. 6, was active in behalf of social, Zionist, cultural and philanthropic efforts, and served on the Board of Mount Zion. He succeeded Judge Charles Bechhoefer as Judge of the District Court and, on his retirement in 1956, was feted by numerous Jewish organizations as one of the outstanding citizens of the state. He died on Aug. 28, 1957.

Over at the University, students met across social lines in the pursuit of Jewish interests. For the first time Jews found themselves excluded from gentile social groups on the campus. A number of students founded a Zeta Beta Tau Chapter<sup>12</sup> and gave expression to their cultural desires by forming a Jewish Literary Society in 1903. Three years later a similar group at Harvard took the name "Menorah"; and the University society in Minneapolis followed suit and helped to establish the Inter-Collegiate Association. Here young Jewish men from all walks of life found common ground and heard some of the country's leading Jewish personalities.<sup>13</sup>

Jews were no strangers to university life. There were now dozens of Jewish professional men in town, and the women too were found at the school in ever increasing numbers.<sup>14</sup> Robert Kolliner was on the Law Faculty, Lillian Cohen in the Department of Chemistry, Rabbi Deinard taught in the Department of Semitics. A little later, Herman L. Slobin was listed in Mathematics, Stanley Rypins in Rhetoric, Harriet Goldstein in Art, Hyman Loss in French, Oscar Cooperman in Dentistry, and Moses Barron in the Medical School. Arthur D. Hirschfelder, formerly of Johns Hopkins, became head of the Department of Pharmacology in 1913. George Gordon was teaching at Hamline.<sup>15</sup> Jews were even gaining fame at athletics, with Sigmund ("Siggy") Harris, halfback of the celebrated football team, as their most spectacular representative.

By 1907, the Jewish population had made its imprint on the

<sup>12</sup> According to Gustavus Loevinger's recollections this was early in the century, with Milton Firestone and Harry [later Dr.] Rothschild taking the lead. The Chapter did not survive at the time.

<sup>13</sup> *AJW*, March 3, 1916. That year Harry Davis of Duluth was President, and the national convention took place in Minneapolis; *ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1916. Among the early outstanding lecturers were Horace Kallen, Henry Hurwitz, and Mordecai M. Kaplan. Present at the founding of the University group were Jacob Wilk, Harry Davis, Fanny Fligelman (Brin), later national president of the National Council of Jewish Women; her sister Leah and the latter's husband-to-be, Dr. Moses Barron (recollections of Mrs. Barron, who claims, however, that the Society originated in 1904, not in 1903).

<sup>14</sup> See the special section in *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8-9 and 27.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*; *AI*, March 7 and July 11, 1912; *Hebrew Standard* (New York, from 1883), July 25, 1913. Hyman Loss later went to Carleton College where he guided many Jewish students (he retired in 1955); Dr. Oscar Cooperman was professor emeritus in 1956. A special survey of Jewish physicians in Minnesota before 1900 may be found in Appendix G, *infra*, pp. 315-316.

vehicles of public culture in yet another way. The St. Paul Public Library announced to the Jewish people of St. Paul:

Through the efforts of Israel Abrahamson, the Hebrew and Yiddish Department is now ready. The library has a fine selection of Hebrew and Yiddish books and many reference books. The aim is to assist the public, and should the demand be great, more books will be added to this collection.<sup>16</sup>

Who would be reading these books tomorrow? Would there be a new generation which knew or cared about reading Hebrew? With all the courses on Bible and ethics, on literature and social problems which the adults enjoyed, the most pressing Jewish cultural problem of the time was the education of the rising American generation.

<sup>16</sup> *AI*, Oct. 31, 1907.



## *Teach Them Diligently*

THERE WERE MEN AND WOMEN in Minneapolis who saw the need for and the potential of Jewish education. They were willing and eager to create its institutional framework. Few of them could have foretold what, over a half century later, the chronicler would have to say of their work.

This is a historic moment for Minneapolis Jewry. For this weekend will go down in history as the date on which Minneapolis comes of age, with the dedication of a beautiful, modern new Talmud Torah building—a \$300,000 monument to the late Dr. George J. Gordon and other men and women whose labors won for Minneapolis a place of pre-eminence in the national rankings of Jewish educational institutions.

And it is most fitting that this day of dedication finds one of the largest beginning classes in the school's history enrolled to help push the entire attendance to a record 760 students. This includes students in an adults' Institute for Jewish Studies, in a two-year collegiate Beth Hamidrash department, in a three-year High School course, and in the five-year elementary Hebrew course.

Cold statistics could never begin to describe the invaluable cultural contribution of the Minneapolis Talmud Torah to Jewry in America and throughout the world, but for the record, here are some figures. Graduates include twelve rabbis, six rabbinical students, fourteen Hebrew teachers, 190 Sunday School teachers, twenty-two social workers, four Jewish publication editors, sixteen holders of important positions in Israel, and hundreds of leaders in Jewish communal service.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> AJW, Oct. 26, 1951 (p. 3). Seventeen of those mentioned had by the mid-fifties been ordained as rabbis: Hillel Aronson, Moshe Goldblum, David Goldstein, Jerome Labowitz, Monroe Levens, Morton Leifman, Norman Shapiro, Melford Spiro, Mervin Tomskey and Abraham Zemach had received their ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary; Saadia Gelb and Harry Kaplan from the Jewish Institute of Religion; Theodore Gordon from Hebrew Union College;

This was 1951 when the Talmud Torah could look back on more than fifty years of achievement. Back in 1894, the original Hebrew Free School had been started in a vacated butcher shop by a few of the new immigrants on the North Side. Soon thereafter, quarters were obtained in Keneseth Israel Synagogue on Fourth Street and Sixth Avenue North. A teacher was engaged for the sum of thirty dollars a month. He was a transplanted East European *melammed* who taught the boys—it was boys only, of course—in the old-fashioned manner. The language of instruction was Yiddish.<sup>2</sup>

A twenty year old immigrant student was occasionally helping out with the teaching of the *alef bet* [Hebrew alphabet]. In his spare hours, when he was not working at improving his English knowledge at Blaine School or was following science courses at North High School, the young man would give thought to his career. He loved to teach; he could see the desperate need for new methods in this new world, and he was fired with zeal to bring the knowledge of Judaism and the language of his fathers to the growing generation.

The young man spoke with Rabbi Aaron Friedman at Shaarai Tov. What were the chances of entering the rabbinate? Or should

---

Harold Gordon from the Hebron *Yeshibah* (1934); Lewis Ginsberg from Rabbi Solomon I. Levin in Minneapolis (1952); and Yisrael Heiman and Itamar Romm from other Orthodox institutions.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. Founders of the school were Raphael J. Weinberg, David Frisch, Charles Rasky, Maurice Bresky, Moses Lazarus, Meyer Bank and Simon Joseph Shalett (later known as Simon Joseph). Joseph Jacobson was the first teacher and was in 1902 succeeded by Joseph Frisch. By that time other men were active in the school: Rabbi Solomon Mordecai Silber, Israel I. Schochet, Nathan Eisenstadt, David Meyers, Nachman Bank, Ike Feder, H. Horwitz, Louis Borowsky, Nathan Lowenthal, Jacob Cohen, Jonas Abrahams, Louis H. Feweles (Fewell), Jacob Rosenberg and, about 1910, Nathan Waisbren. At this time, connections with Keneseth Israel were severed and independent quarters were obtained at 818 Basset Place. Elijah Avin of New York was brought in as principal in 1911, and in 1913, the school was known as Minneapolis Talmud Torah. See also the anniversary leaflet, *Twenty-five Years of Service to Jewish Youth* (Minneapolis, 1938); also Keneseth Israel, *Golden Anniversary* (Minneapolis, 1938), p. 12. The building at Fremont and Eighth Avenue North was occupied in 1915, when Abraham N. Bearman was President and Dr. Nathan N. Cohen, Secretary. A detailed history of the origins and early years of the Talmud Torah, its leaders and its ladies' auxiliary, is found in *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922, pp. 18–22 (with numerous pictures). The article was written by Dr. George Gordon who used the pen-name *NaBon*. See also *AJW*, July 30, 1915, pp. 20 ff., on the history of the auxiliary. Its first president was Mrs. Adolph Farbstein, later first superintendent of the Sheltering Home; *ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1915.

he follow his other love, the medical profession? Whether the Rabbi counseled against theological studies, or whether he stressed the opportunities for dedicated lay people in the community, or whatever the reason: George Gordon, erstwhile student at the *yeshibah* in Telsche [Telsiai], native of Lithuania, decided for medicine. He went East, graduated from Jefferson Medical School in 1900, interned, and was soon back in Minneapolis.

When he returned, there seemed to be little left of the timid *yeshibah bahur*, the son of a modest old-world Hebrew teacher.<sup>3</sup> He found an appointment at Hamline University, a Methodist school; he became a Ben B'rith, one of the first East European Jews to enter the lodge in Minneapolis; he was a Modern Woodman and became a member of the Reform Synagogue. Yet, his convictions regarding the essentiality of Hebrew and the urgent necessity for modern Jewish education had, if anything, become stronger. He again took an interest in the Hebrew Free School which was still trying to do its modest work. It now had larger quarters in the back of Keneseth Israel, but its appeal was limited and its pedagogic method still the antiquated rote-teaching of the European *heder*.

It was not long before Dr. Gordon's dynamic leadership was felt. He gave more time to the school than to his profession. He taught, he helped, he collected money, he pleaded. He even collected students. With such dedication firing it the school grew. In time, its leadership changed and its philosophy began to reflect the approach of Dr. Gordon.

He had been back in Minneapolis only six years when an admiring contemporary could write:

There is no man in Minneapolis giving more effective service to the upliftment of the Jews than Dr. Geo. Gordon. Not only does he give his personal service as a physician, where it is needed, giving much

<sup>3</sup> George Jacob Gordon was born April 15, 1874, the son of Baer Gordon, a Hebrew teacher. He had come alone to the United States in 1892, had worked in a paper box factory in New York, then had gone to Virginia before coming to Minneapolis. He passed grade school in one year, graduated North High at the age of twenty-two, supporting himself with Hebrew lessons. While at college, he taught Latin and Hebrew as a private tutor. In 1902, he married Sophie Weinberg. Their son Theodore later became a Reform Rabbi. See R. Danenbaum, *RA, loc. cit.*, pp. 35-36; *AJW*, March 10, 1916.



of his time to the poor, but he makes his influence felt for the cause of education and good citizenship. The desirable condition of the Talmud Torah is due to his influence; he has recently organized a class of young men who will make a study of Jewish history and, although his accomplishments have been many, they give promise of being even more widespread, for he has the love and confidence of the people he is trying to benefit. They have watched him struggle from boyhood, and win the place in the world he richly deserves.<sup>4</sup>

For a full generation thereafter Gordon remained the embodiment of the synthesis of old and new: the essential complementation of the new world's values by the standards and knowledge of ancient Judaism. From the turn of the century on his activity was a major unifying influence in the community. For he stood in what were then two worlds: he combined the training, discipline and culture of the West with the intellectual and emotional riches of the East. He belonged to the Reform Temple and at the same time was a devotee of Hebrew and of the nascent Jewish nationalism. He was admired and loved in two worlds at once. When slowly, during his own lifetime, these antipodes became one, the change was to no small degree due to his leadership. Jewish education became a focal point of cultural unification. In this, no less than in the actual achievement of higher curricular standards and requirements and the issuance of graduation certificates to thousands of students, lay the significance of the Minneapolis Talmud Torah.<sup>5</sup>

Jewish children on the North Side received support from yet another side. They were going to Blaine School which was quickly changing from a school with diversified enrollment to one with predominant attendance by children of recent Jewish immigrants. Here the students came under the influence of Fannie C. LeGro, the principal, a woman of unusual understanding not only for the needs of the children in their difficult years of American acculturation, but also for the importance of their continued Jewish identification. She, a Christian, was an active champion of after-school Hebrew hours. She believed in the maintenance rather

<sup>4</sup> R. Danenbaum, RA, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> In 1928, Dr. Gordon gave up his medical practice and became full-time executive director of Talmud Torah. He served in this position until his retirement in 1941. He died on July 26, 1943, just short of his seventieth birthday.

than the shedding of Jewish loyalties as a vital part in the character building of her Jewish pupils. Soon this authoritative support from the public school showed its results. In 1907, almost all Jewish children at Blaine were also attending Hebrew School.<sup>6</sup>

The knowledge that a woman of this character is at the head of the school their children attend is the source of much comfort to the Jewish parents. Children seek admission from the other schools and when they leave the Blaine district, beg to be allowed to remain there.<sup>7</sup>

Jewish children were described by her as well-mannered and obedient, but—an interesting comment on their indigenous opposition to arbitrary authority and harshness—amenable “only to gentleness and kindness.” They learned their lessons of *zedakah* quickly and applied them to Jew and non-Jew alike. Many of the children were poor, and their two and three dollars a week, earned by selling papers, were substantial additions to the family budget. Still, when an appeal went out to help the sufferers in the San Francisco fire, nineteen school rooms gave one hundred dollars, and the usual savings account of the children in the school office dropped from thirty to seven dollars.<sup>8</sup>

This was the community of tomorrow in the making. The children liked the theoretical subjects, but had little use for manual training. Many parents still took boys out of school to have them help earn a living. Too many girls never saw the higher grades. Not all the immigrants were convinced that learning was as essential for girls as it was for boys.

It is instructive to observe the developing diverse characteristics of the Twin Cities in the area of Jewish education. There was no George Gordon in St. Paul, and with the span of East and West initially wider in the older city, Hebrew education remained much longer on the old level. The synagogues had Hebrew classes, but there was no communal cohesion and no city-wide support for any one institution. Two Hebrew schools, the Capitol City Hebrew Free School and the Hebrew Institute and Sheltering Home were dedicated at the same time that the

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36–38.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* The author, Ruby Danenbaum, renders a moving tribute to Fannie LeGro.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

Minneapolis Talmud Torah became an independent institution, but the St. Paul institutions remained essentially old-world schools which fitted themselves exclusively to the philosophy of the lower town and West Side synagogues. Like them they were strictly Orthodox in approach and traditional in technique. Consequently, when an appeal for funds was made, the response from other sections of the community was very small.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, the Sunday Schools were firmly established at the Reform Temples. Originally, classes had met several times a week; by 1900 they convened only once, usually on Sundays. Still, while the old name Sabbath School persisted, the curriculum was changing. In 1889, an observer had written:

Our Dr. Hess has done wonders, not alone in the Confirmation Class, but in the Sabbath School. From a lot of mischief-loving children who thought that the Sabbath School was only a place of amusement, he has succeeded in developing a spirit of interest for the Hebrew branches and the Biblical history of our people.<sup>10</sup>

There were annual examinations, usually at *Shabu'ot* time, and the Temple Board would be requested to be present. Subjects included Bible, Catechism and Hebrew—with Hebrew continu-

<sup>9</sup> The building of the Capitol City Hebrew Free School was dedicated on Aug. 18, 1912, — “handsomely fitted and furnished through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Leon Salet”; *AI*, Sept. 5, 1912. The new property was at 137 College Avenue. This marked the separation of the school from the Sons of Jacob (where it had been organized in the 1890's, and where it had met during most of these years) and from the Sons of Abraham, where it had met during the later years. *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922, p. 45; Sept. 3, 1937, suppl. p. 13. The Capitol City Hebrew School later was housed in the building of the Jewish Educational Center and was known as the Bureau of Jewish Education. In 1956, it was renamed St. Paul Talmud Torah and occupied its own structure on South Mississippi River Boulevard and Hartford Avenue. See also *infra*, chapter twenty-seven, p. 202, note 2. The Hebrew Institute on the West Side was located at Trenton and Kentucky Streets and was dedicated on Nov. 6, 1911. See *AJYB*, 1910-1911 (5671), p. 289. Among the founders were also Haim David and Abraham Goldberg, Aaron Stacker, Herman Butwinnick and Louis Harris. The cornerstone had been laid in May, with Rabbi Isaac Rypins of Mount Zion giving the chief address. Amongst those present had been Mayor Herbert Keller, Otto Bremer and Judge Frederick N. Dickson. Rabbi Herman Simon was the moving force in bringing the school into existence. The work had ceased for a while because funds were lacking; a mass meeting was called, but only the West Side's Jews had responded, “poor but progressive people,” as the *SPPP* was quoted to have called them: *AI*, May 25 and Aug. 17, 1911. In 1956, the Institute had moved into the new Sons of Jacob building, at Portland and Pascal Avenues. On Rabbi Simon, see *infra*, chapter 27, p. 202 f.

<sup>10</sup> *AI*, June 20, 1889.



ing to have a place of major importance.<sup>11</sup> The instruction was of course fundamentally different in both philosophy and approach from that of the Orthodox institutions. The latter looked with disdain upon the education offered at the Reform synagogues, and most Reform Jews reciprocated with an equally negative assessment of Orthodoxy. Said a Reform correspondent:

Under present conditions, if the young people do not desert Judaism through the harshness of the parents' religious code, still in keeping with what they knew in darkest Russia, it will be small wonder.<sup>12</sup>

Adult Jewish education reflected the organization which sponsored it. In the Orthodox synagogue it was a *Hebrah Mishnayot* or *Hebrah Shas*, studying the traditional Jewish codes,<sup>13</sup> in the Reform Temples it was an ethics or Bible class, and it was history or some other Jewish subject in the Council of Jewish Women. B'nai B'rith was experimenting with an "intellectual advancement" program, and each of the many lodges had some stake in the adult educational process.

There were now many lodges, and most of them conducted classes for adults. The Free Sons of Israel appealed to some of the Bohemian and German Jews. The B'rith Abraham, with its Yiddish and English speaking lodges, was by far the strongest fraternal group in the state. There were the Sons of Benjamin, the Progressive Order of the West and many other lodges, and a large number of independent groups—from a Young Women's Educational Alliance to a Jewish Library Association.<sup>14</sup> There were socialists in town, Bundists with their anti-Zionist program

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, June 27, 1895; MZM, vol. III, June 7, 1891 (p. 19).

<sup>12</sup> R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>13</sup> One such group was led for forty-five years by Jacob Gordon (father of Rabbi Harold Gordon of New York) at Sharei Zedek in Minneapolis. He served the community as *mohel* and *shohet* for over fifty years and died in 1955, at the age of eighty-six.

<sup>14</sup> The Jewish Library, a Minneapolis institution, was dedicated on May 31, 1908; see *AJYB*, 1908-1909 (5669), p. 126. There were also YMHA and YWHA groups in existence; *ibid.*, p. 51.

The roster of fraternal organizations of that time was very large. In 1904, Minneapolis alone listed these:

Independent Order of B'nai B'rith (1 lodge, 70 members); Order of B'rith Abraham (5 lodges, 1,250 members); Sons of Benjamin (2 lodges); Free Sons (1 lodge); Mendelsohn Camp, Modern Woodmen of America; Baron Hirsch Camp, Woodmen of the World; Modern Samaritans; Bankers' Union; Knights and Ladies of Security; Loyal Mystic Legion of America; Supreme Court of Honor; Modern

and the Workmen's Circle (*Arbeiter Ring*) with its own brand of nationalism. The socialists were united in holding Yiddish to be not merely a convenient language tool, but a cultural end in itself. None of these groups was large enough to go beyond modest attempts at establishing schools.

There were, lastly, the Zionists. Whether they held with the cultural dreams of Ahad Ha'am or the growing political activities of Herzl and his followers, education was an integral part of their program. Involvement in world Jewish affairs was not new to the Jewish communities: the Mortara and Dreyfus affairs had stirred them;<sup>15</sup> people had contributed for years to the *Alliance*<sup>16</sup> and to Palestine causes, but political Zionism was a new phenomenon. It combined motivations of Jewish peoplehood and purpose with political planning. As such it appeared alien to most of the older German settlers, even though a few of their leaders became its staunchest supporters and spokesmen. The new Eastern immigrants, on the other hand, welcomed Zionism with open arms. To work for the selfhood of the Jewish people seemed to them a natural privilege of American freedom. They organized quickly after the first Congress in 1897 had met in Basle and had proclaimed its far-flung aims. As early as 1897, St. Paul had its first Young Zionists, and the next year there was a second group, called Tifereth Zion.<sup>17</sup>

Brotherhood of America. See *JE*, vol. VIII, p. 599, see also *AJYB*, 1900-1901 (5661), p. 148.

In 1907, the B'rith Abraham had split into an Independent Order and the old B'rith Abraham. At the time, it had seven lodges of which two were English speaking. The Progressive Order of the West had three lodges; *AJYB*, 1907-1908 (5668), pp. 54, 63, 75, 83, 105 and 114.

A similar array was found in St. Paul, which had two lodges of the Independent Western Star; see *ibid.*, pp. 85, 88, 94, 108, 114. It should be noted that the B'rith Abraham Minutes of that time are extant and can be found in the Mss. collections of MHS. During much of that time, Abe Stein was President; Harry Rosen, Vice-President; Mauritz Rossman and David Elfenbein, Secretaries. See also R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

The Free Sons of Israel was never very strong in the Middle West and by 1907 had almost disappeared in Minnesota. Minneapolis Lodge No. 93 had been organized in 1880. For names and details see R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 31. No Free Sons lodge was ever founded in St. Paul.

<sup>15</sup> See *supra*, chapter 12, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, the well-informed appeal by a St. Paulite which appeared in the *AI*, Aug. 16, 1872.

<sup>17</sup> *AJYB*, 1899-1900 (5660), p. 39; 1900-1901 (5661), p. 175.

In Minneapolis especially, the Zionist movement grew quickly. It had not only good Jewish leadership, ranging from Yiddish-speaking Simon Joseph of the traditional wing to the Reform Temple's new Rabbi, Dr. Samuel N. Deinard, but it also enjoyed the widest and most influential Christian support from the very beginning. On July 31, 1897, the Ohaway [*'ohabe*] Zion (Lovers of Zion) was founded; shortly thereafter the Dorshe Zion (Seekers of Zion) made its appearance, and both groups quickly enlisted the help of women and established auxiliaries.<sup>18</sup> They received a tremendous impetus when on December 11, 1898, David C. Bell, a prominent Minneapolis citizen, appeared at a Zionist union rally and threw his wholehearted support behind the movement. He was a deeply religious man, and both he and his wife had recently made a horse-and-camel-back journey through the Holy Land. They were convinced that Zion must be restored to the Jewish people, and they were equally moved by the plight of the Jew in the Diaspora. "Zionism," he said to the gathering, "is a mournful necessity and a glorious ideal." He reported a Christian friend's reaction to Theodor Herzl: "I felt I was standing in the presence of a King." Bell put his Zionist aspirations in memorable terms:

Palestine is a land without people; the Jews are a people without land. . . . We say to you: Enter the holy gates, add stone to stone, lift up your banner. Jerusalem must be rebuilt.<sup>19</sup>

To add the dramatic touch to his ringing plea, Mrs. Bell rose, addressed the gathering and presented the Zionists with a blue

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. Ohaway [*'ohabe*] was often spelled Ohavei. First officers of Ohaway Zion were Simon Joseph, President; Harry Shalett Lippman, Vice-President; David Blumenfeld, Treasurer; Benjamin Chedeck, Secretary. Joseph's family name was Shalett, and he was naturalized under his family name when he entered the United States in the 1860's. He later shortened his name to Joseph, but in 1901, took his old name back again (District Court, Hennepin County, Oct. 19, 1901). He was a Talmudist whose family had old Hoveve Zion connections. Joseph's brother Eleazar Elhanan Schalit was one of the first settlers of Ayun Kara, later known as Rishon l'Zion, in Palestine.

The second president of Ohaway Zion was Jacob Bloom who presided at the first public rally in Alexander Hall, on Dec. 11, 1898. Among early Zionist leaders in St. Paul were Henry Rosenberg, Moses Calmenson, Joseph Levine, Aaron Hertz and David Greenberg.

<sup>19</sup> *MT*, Dec. 12, 1898 (p. 5). The paper devoted one and a half columns to the meeting and reproduced a drawing of the banner. See also *Die Welt* (Vienna, Austria), vol. III, no. 6 (Feb. 10, 1899, p. 11; report by Stephen S. Wise).



and white hand-embroidered standard which she herself had fashioned. Under the name "Ohabe Zion" a large Star of David showed forth. Many Jews who witnessed the meeting could not understand the English addresses, but all were touched by this visual evidence of Zionism's all-pervasive appeal.

Other mass meetings followed. Cyrus Northrop, President of the University, and Judge John Willis of St. Paul, gave Zionist addresses. The "German" element in Minneapolis also provided leadership for the movement. Henry Deutsch, a prominent member of Shaarai Tov, was among the speakers at a rally in 1900.<sup>20</sup> The influential editor of the *Minneapolis Times*, William E. Haskell, was a strong sympathizer and devoted much space to the progress of the movement.<sup>21</sup> A young, fiery orator named Stephen S. Wise spoke in the city—"a brilliant success," reported the paper.<sup>22</sup> At Temple Shaarai Tov, the Rabbi, Samuel N. Deinard, was an ardent Zionist who would debate with St. Paul's anti-Zionist Rabbi Isaac L. Rypins, and in the exchange much could be learned. In 1904, the St. Paul Zionists, mostly young people, had already gathered a sizable membership and maintained clubrooms of their own. Minneapolis had its first Zionist ideological division with the appearance of the Zionist-Socialist laborites, the *Poale Zion*. All these groups presented a powerful educational force in the Jewish community.

To round out the picture, the Territorialists also were organized—or at least they had a representative in Minnesota. He was Ambrose Guiterman, a leading member of the St. Paul Reform congregation and one of the Northwest's more influential business men. Spurred by Israel Zangwill, he cast his lot with the

<sup>20</sup> *MT*, March 3, 1900 (p. 5); see also *Die Welt*, vol. IV, no. 16 (April 19, 1900), and recollections by Abe Altowitz in *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 8).

<sup>21</sup> Letter of Sept. 16, 1899, to Simon Joseph (in possession of Max Shalett, Los Angeles, the son of Simon Joseph). Grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. Shalett for making available a series of private letters and documents relating to the early growth of Zionism in Minnesota. Much of this material was published by Rabbi David Aronson in the Rosh Hashanah edition of the *AJW*, Sept. 8, 1950. For further details see W. Gunther Plaut, "How Zionism Came to Minnesota" (lecture delivered on Dec. 29, 1957, before the Theodor Herzl Institute in New York; in the process of being published).

<sup>22</sup> *Die Welt*, vol. IV, no. 41 (Oct. 12, 1900). See also letter by David Blumenfeld, Secretary of the Minneapolis group, to *Die Welt*, vol. IV, no. 52 (Dec. 28, 1900).

nationalist cause, but — with other Territorialists — worked for a territory other than Palestine.<sup>23</sup>

Literally, Jewish life was teeming. The communities were passing into a new stage. The new immigration had come in full force and was now passing its peak. Its results were now felt everywhere. In response to its needs a multitude of groups of all sorts had sprung up — so many indeed that they could not possibly continue side by side. The lodges especially were swollen with members. In 1906, B'rith Abraham alone had 1,500 members in Minneapolis, an enormous percentage of the total Jewish population which did not exceed seven to eight thousand Jews at that time.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *AI*, Jan. 11 and April 5, 1906; *JE*, vol. VIII, pp. 599–600; *AJYB*, 1907–1908 (5668), pp. 25, 41, 43 and 45.

<sup>24</sup> R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 30. It is likely that the membership figure of B'rith Abraham was exaggerated. Even so, there were many other additional lodges with respectable numbers of members. On other organizations such as Ezra, Hebrew League, Clara de Hirsch Society, see *AJYB*, 1908–1909 (5669), p. 151; 1909–1910 (5670), p. 176. Characteristic of combination-type societies which loaned money, administered relief and provided for religious services was Gemelus Chesed in Minneapolis. It was registered June 16, 1913, but had been founded earlier. Of the founders, Jacob Braverman, Philip Gold and Morris Steinberg survived in 1956.

## *Spiritual Journey: Reform*

THE NEW IMMIGRATION had transformed the face of all Jewish communities. It radically shifted their balance and in so doing elicited a strong reaction from the older "German" group. This response did not restrict itself to social separation,<sup>1</sup> but brought forth within the "first" community other profound psychological and subsequently ideological reactions which in the course of time greatly influenced the character of Jewish life. Even as the East European Jews were arriving from a physical journey, the already present Western Jews set out on a spiritual migration. Its extent was different in the three major Minnesota cities; for the composition of the population was different, as were the premises upon which Jewish community life was built. We can trace this development best in St. Paul; for not only are its records fairly complete for this vital period, but also because the changes which occurred were most clearly delineated here, both in form and content.

Looking back in 1907, fifty years after the emergence of a Jewish community in St. Paul, one could distinguish three phases in its spiritual development.

The first had lasted for fifteen years, from 1856 to 1871. Those were the pioneering years in which not merely the continued existence of Jewish life, but that of the whole community was problematic. During this time the essential forms of the basic community were obtained: synagogue and cemetery, and the necessary personnel to tend to the daily and special needs of a Jewish lifetime. *Kashrut* had been a major concern of the early settlers. In form of worship they were traditional. Most of them

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, chapter 22, pp. 159 ff. See also O. Handlin, *Adventure in Freedom*, pp. 109 ff.



were foreign-born and came from the German culture nexus. However, they quickly learned to speak English, and while German remained for some time an important language factor, these immigrants made a conscious effort to "be Americans." From the beginning their records and minutes were kept in English. It was a faulty, ill-spelt English they wrote, but it carried the flavor of permanence.

By 1871, their children were growing up, and the older settlers had already achieved a degree of economic security. They had built their first modest synagogue and were employing their first Rabbi. It was at this time that the first East European settlers came to St. Paul. They were few at first; they came, as did the Germans, in small family groups, one by one. It was in effect the beginning of the great mass migration, but its full future extent could then not be foreseen.

It is possible that the psychological reaction of the older inhabitants to the newcomers did not translate itself directly into religious symbolism, and that the confluence of beginning Reform and the separation of the Jewish community into two parts was a coincidence. Perhaps it was a coincidence also that the first Rabbi was a Reformer. Perhaps even without the arrival of the new settlers, Reform in Minnesota would have gone its normal ways. But what may have been an accident of time in the beginning became in the next generation a clear case of cause and effect or, as Toynbee would have it, of challenge and response.

In 1871, membership in the synagogue was still bound up with the privilege of receiving the services of the kosher butcher which the Congregation made available. By paying two dollars a month for *shehitah*, non-members were to be "considered members de facto of Mt. Zion Hebrew Association, entitled to seats in the synagogue with their families and also entitled to all rights and privileges, except . . . the right to vote."<sup>2</sup>

The first indications of change had come the year before. Instead of following the time of sunset for the beginning of Friday night services,

it was resolved that service should be held hereafter every Friday

<sup>2</sup> MZM, vol. I, March 5, 1871.

evening at 6 o'clock p.m. and on Saturday morning at 8 o'clock a.m. until further notice.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing more drastic had happened. A question of *minhag* had arisen: which order of prayer should be observed on the holy days? Some members wanted Isaac M. Wise's liberalized *Minhag Amerika* introduced, but nothing came of it.<sup>4</sup>

After the Holy Days there was a further small ritual change. Henceforth on the Sabbath only four men were to be called to the reading of the Torah, instead of the customary minimum of eight *'aliyot*. However, the President could decide to call more, and in any case, the portion assigned to the Sabbath was to be read in full.<sup>5</sup>

When spring arrived, there were two other innovations to be considered: the Rabbi suggested the holding of a confirmation service, and there was an offer by the ladies to place a melodeon in the synagogue. The former proposition was quickly approved, the latter was debated at length, laid over, and finally accepted.<sup>6</sup> Shortly thereafter, *Minhag Amerika* was adopted for use, but not without extensive study and discussion.<sup>7</sup> The *American Israelite* made special note of this; for from here on the spiritual direction of the congregation seemed certain: it was to be Reform.<sup>8</sup>

It was a most moderate liberalism which Mount Zion was following. There were men like Austrian and Bergman whose conservatism prevented any sudden shift in the congregation, and, equally important, there was nothing in the general or Jewish situation of the time which caused undue psychological pressures. There had been no foreign war which would have fanned nationalist tensions and raised the problem of Americanization. Nativism which might have disturbed the religious equilibrium was dead; and the depression of 1873 (while it left Minnesota comparatively unscarred) created sufficient confusion and upheaval so that definitive social and religious demarcation lines became temporarily unimportant.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, April 6, 1870.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1871; Dec. 1, 1872.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1871.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, June 2, 1872; July 7, 1872.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, March 2, April 6, 1873.

<sup>8</sup> *AI*, April 25, 1873.

The great religious debates at Mount Zion were concerned with nothing more earth-shaking than a possible one hour recess on *Yom Kippur* (even though all businesses were closed and the Temple goers fasted strictly), or the question of the new *Minhag Amerika* which still was not entirely settled.<sup>9</sup> But that year, from these minor debates a larger issue emerged. A congregational resolution determined that only the first day of *Rosh Hashanah* was to be observed.<sup>10</sup> The congregation was now referred to as being "Reform Style."<sup>11</sup> In 1878, it was ready to join the new liberal Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the ladies began to make regular contributions to the Hebrew Union College.<sup>12</sup>

In 1879, Wechsler could contrast the Sons of Jacob Congregation with Mount Zion and find the two quite distinct in their religious outlook.<sup>13</sup> The new spirit of rationalism which had begun to pervade America was felt by non-Jews and Jews alike. There was a new fad of scientific atheism and Jews too were submitting to it. Wechsler complained bitterly:

We cannot reach this class of people by any possible argument, and they see not the dangerous ground which they occupy. We are, to a certain degree, responsible for their actions, for they are still to be called Israelites, but are of no earthly benefit to us, and even impair our course. The sooner we cut off these dead branches from the fertile tree of Judaism, the better it would be for our future welfare.<sup>14</sup>

For the first time there were people in the community who called themselves Jews yet stayed away from the Temple even on the Holy Days. Mixed marriages became more frequent and most of their progeny, the Rabbi reported, were lost to Judaism.<sup>15</sup> The Reform movement considered itself as a bulwark in the fight for Jewish self-preservation, for the social group from which it drew its members was the same group which was especially susceptible

<sup>9</sup> MZM, vol. II, Sept. 30, 1874 (p. 42); Sept. 20, 1875 (p. 89); SPD, Sept. 21, 1874.

<sup>10</sup> MZM, Sept. 5, 1875 (p. 74).

<sup>11</sup> AI, Dec. 24, 1875.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, April 4, 1879. Papers relating to the relationship with the Union are in MZA.

<sup>13</sup> See *infra*, p. 185.

<sup>14</sup> AI, Nov. 14, 1879.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1879.



to the wiles of atheism on the one hand and total assimilation on the other. In St. Paul the course of Reform—a course which with differing conditions varied from community to community—was moderate. Liberal Judaism made concessions to the environment, it adopted some new forms of worship, it introduced a new prayerbook—but beyond that it did not go, at least not then. For these changes were bringing about the desired results: they maintained Jewish communal identity despite the losses incurred by the defection of the assimilatory fringe, and they made Judaism attractive to a generation which spoke in terms of Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, which had heard of Abraham Geiger and was listening to the challenging voices of Isaac M. Wise and David Einhorn. Some philosophical distance had now been added to the already existing social distance which separated the congregation of the East European settlers from the older group. This automatically added to the latter's sense of security. Wechsler, outspoken as he was, expressed this sense of growing separation without apparent regret:

There is also here a Polish Congregation, which, however, belongs to past generations, for the spirit of the 19th Century is not in the least comprehended, and genuine Judaism is not represented by them. Such congregations have no future in America.<sup>16</sup>

The outward touchstone of demarcation was the wearing of the hat at services. Up to the end of the seventies this question had not arisen. Dr. Cohen had still appeared in the pulpit with his cap and *tallit*. Now the "hat question" was debated for the first time. The innovators lost. The *status quo* would continue to prevail.<sup>17</sup> The following year the same motion failed again and the congregation "decided to keep the hats on."<sup>18</sup>

The eighties proved to be a period of decision. Under ordinary circumstances, Mount Zion would have continued for a considerable time in the camp of moderate Reform. It still had enough members whose traditional background was strong. The President of the Congregation, Max Warshauer,

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *MZM*, vol. II, April 20, 1879 (p. 146).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, May 2, 1880 (p. 165).

read the Hebrew and German as though he was educated for the pulpit, and delighted the congregation by those beautiful ancient melodies that never fail to touch the heart of a Jewish audience.<sup>19</sup>

Cap and *tallit* continued to be subjects of contention, but the Reform party was now gaining the upper hand. Mount Zion had built its new house of worship near the downtown area. A few years later it became apparent that, even though the new Temple would be large enough for worship purposes, it would be unable to continue functioning in a social sense. It was the time of the sudden influx of the new immigrants. It was evident that not even the success of the Painted Woods or Devil's Lake projects would substantially diminish the East European settlement in the towns. On the contrary, it kept increasing and before the eighties were over far outnumbered the old German group. The language of the immigrants was Yiddish. Many of them were slow to adopt American dress and continued to appear in public both visually and vocally as Europeans. In this, they were of course not alone. The Scandinavians were equally determined to maintain old-world custom, but unlike the Jews they were carrying their old-world habits into a majority, not minority, situation.

All new Jewish settlers automatically became part of the total Jewish group, and by their arrival produced effects which were almost immediately observable in the older settlers. To the latter they posed a status problem which heretofore had been met only in limited and organic form.

The older group had acquired social prestige and a degree of acceptance in their environment which increased their desire to secure and defend their hard-earned American position. Their children had been raised in America and had been sent to college or finishing school. The old families' financial success had been great. They were Americans and proud of it. The word "Jew" (or "Hebrew" or "Israelite" as the preferred terms went) had acquired a certain meaning in St. Paul. It meant "old settler," "pioneer," "builder of city and state"—and if to the non-Jew it actually did not have these connotations, no matter! The Jews

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1886. The author is indebted also to Messrs. Edward Epstein, St. Paul, and Martin Birnberg, Los Angeles, California, for their personal recollections (1955).

of the old settlement could and did believe that such sentiments did in fact exist.<sup>20</sup>

It was natural that any threat, real or imagined, to their position should create an acute reaction. The new East European immigrant represented precisely such a threat. There was now a new incentive to widen the gap between old and new, or East and West, "German" and "Russian." The distinction "Reform" and "Orthodox" was added to denote the separation, and inevitably the ritual format of Reform changed decisively. The old leaders who only yesterday had resisted radical alterations in the service now voted with the Reform partisans. Samuel Freuder, a graduate from Hebrew Union College, was engaged who, compared to Wechsler, was an extreme Reformer.<sup>21</sup> Shortly thereafter, the symbolic separation between old and new was completed and the hat removed at services.

During the next decade the consolidation of Reform was marked by two concurrent phases: the constant further removal

<sup>20</sup> For a typical reaction of this type see A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 283, and, more extreme, p. 285.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, *AI*, Nov. 11, 1887.

Freuder had a most unusual and checkered career. He was born in Nemetkeresztur, Hungary, the son and grandson of cantors. After attending the talmudical academies in Pressburg and Berlin (in the latter city, he became a pupil of Israel Hildesheimer) he came to the United States in 1883 and shortly thereafter entered Hebrew Union College, from which he graduated in 1886. St. Paul was his second rabbinical charge. Because of his radical philosophy and also because of personal difficulties, he soon found himself beset with many problems. He turned for advice to Isaac M. Wise, his teacher, and Wise wrote him a fatherly letter counseling patience and perseverance:

You want to figure as an authority without having had time enough to acquire the confidence and goodwill of the public. . . . It takes years of patience and perseverance to acquire a reasonable measure of honor and confidence. There is no thriving by rapid changes. . . .

Freuder left St. Paul after two years and after further peregrinations was baptized into the Christian faith at the Chicago Hebrew Mission in 1891. He spent seventeen years as a Christian missionary and then recanted at a public meeting in Boston while preaching to a national conference of missionaries in historic Park Street Church, on June 3, 1908. He returned to his ancestral faith and later wrote an autobiography, *A Missionary's Return to Judaism* (New York: Sinai Publishing Co., 1915). See especially chapter 3; also *Boston Globe*, June 4, 1908.

Freuder's ministry in St. Paul evoked strong party feelings in his congregation. His very radicalism stiffened the back of the traditional element. The internal conflict at Mount Zion was not resolved until Freuder had left.

The Reform party gained permanent control of Mt. Zion in 1890. It was led by Daniel Aberle, Alexander Sternberg and Charles Bechhoefer; *AI*, April 17, 1890 (p. 3); *MZM*, vol. III, April 7, 1890 (p. 1).



from traditional practices and the acquisition of a philosophical underpinning for these radical changes.

Rabbi Emanuel Hess, who served during the nineties, fitted these needs perfectly. He was a convinced Reformer and by background and inclination had the scholarly propensities of the German rabbinic tradition. He wrote well and lectured convincingly; he had the authority of age and learning and his approach, which was at the same time rational and esthetic, proudly Jewish and firmly modern, typified the German school from which he came. His quiet leadership gave the spiritual development of the congregation the needed aspect of natural growth and organic evolution, which culminated in the adoption of the new, radically Reform *Union Prayer Book*.<sup>22</sup>

Little more than twenty years had passed since the members had maintained their own kosher butcher and had closed their stores on *Shabbat*. Now the young ladies gave oyster suppers,<sup>23</sup> and even on the High Holy Days a number of the Jewish stores remained open.<sup>24</sup> *Mazzot* were still being bought for Passover, but the usual cleansing of the house no longer coincided with the festival, but was merely "spring-cleaning." A contemporary observed sarcastically: "It is the availability of the kalsominer and paper hanger which determine the activities."<sup>25</sup> Christmas celebrations became frequent, but the reporter was not shocked:

<sup>22</sup> MZM, vol. IV, April 12, May 3 and May 12, 1898. The even more radical *Olath Tamid* (New York, 1872), the so-called Einhorn Prayerbook, had, however, been rejected after a brief trial. That fall also, the sounding of the Shofar was replaced by that of a cornet; *ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1898.

Emanuel Hess was born in Meerholz, near Frankfurt am Main, in Germany, on Aug. 12, 1845, the son of David Hess. He was educated in Marburg and Frankfurt and came first under the influence of Orthodox leader Samson Raphael Hirsch and then of Reformer Leopold Stein. He was in Baltimore in 1864 as editor of a German language weekly, *Concordia*. He had married Etka Bernstein in 1867 and had served in St. Louis, Kansas City and Shreveport before coming to St. Paul. His approach to Christianity was frank and entirely without apologetics. See *Macalester Monthly* (St. Paul), vol. I, no. 3 (Dec. 1898), pp. 71-77; Ms., "Mosaic Rabbinical Morals Compared with Christian Lessons" [n.d.], in MZA. For other examples of his preaching and writing see his *Origin, History and Importance of the Schulchan Aruch* (Shreveport, 1886); *AI*, Oct. 27, 1892. He resigned his pulpit in 1899 because of ill health, and continued to live and teach in St. Paul until his death on Dec. 24, 1906. See tributes in: H. D. Frankel, *RA*, loc. cit., p. 43; *SPD*, Dec. 25, 1906; *AI*, Jan. 17, 1907 (p. 3); MZM, vol. IV, Jan. 6, 1907 (p. 127); and the author's *Mount Zion 1856-1956*, pp. 60, 67 and *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> *AI*, Nov. 15, 1894.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, June 1, 1893; H. D. Frankel, *RA*, loc. cit., p. 41.

There is little doubt but in our times in nearly all households, whether Jew or Gentile, the season is celebrated, for the simple reason that in Rome, as the Romans we must do.<sup>26</sup>

By 1900, the separation of old and new had nearly reached its extreme point. It was emphasized by yet another factor: the physical removal of the German group from the newer settlers. The "Germans," now distinctly middle and upper-middle class, moved up Dayton and Summit Avenues. Only eight years after the costly Temple at Tenth and Minnesota had been dedicated, the inevitability of a location shift had become evident.<sup>27</sup> In 1882, all the members lived in lower town; a few years later the move to the hill started and by 1900 it was almost complete. The building of a new Reform edifice in the heart of the upper-class church neighborhood, at Avon and Holly Avenues, in 1903, was the outward manifestation that the two Jewish communities were as far apart as they could be.

Rabbi Isaac L. Rypins, a graduate of Hebrew Union College, gave complete expression and leadership to the position which Mount Zion had now reached. He was a universalist and an anti-traditionalist, and for a short while he even succeeded in establishing Sunday services as the main services of the week. But this in effect was the limit to which Reform in St. Paul would go. Here it came to rest at the widest swing of the pendulum.<sup>28</sup>

The stages of its spiritual journey could now be clearly marked:

- (1) 1856-1871: The single community of the early settlers. Its religious habits were strictly traditional.
- (2) 1871-1881: The period of the first Temple, with its slow separation of earlier and later arrivals, its status acquisition and beginning reforms.
- (3) 1881-1903: The period of the second Temple, the great influx of new settlers and a consequent complete separation of old and new; the creation of two communities; the

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, April 29, 1887, and April 21, 1892.

<sup>27</sup> *AI*, Jan. 4, 1894.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, May 8, 1890 (p. 7).

<sup>29</sup> The Sunday-Sabbath controversy may be followed in *MZM*, vol. IV, April 8 and 18, 1901; April 7, 1907; Jan. 4, March 1 and April 13, 1914; see also *AI*, Oct. 26, 1899, Feb. 8 and July 5, 1900; *CCAR Yearbook*, vol. XIV (1904), pp. 119-120; vol. XV (1905), pp. 112 ff.; vol. XVI (1906), pp. 87 ff.

physical removal of the old settlers from their previous residential environment and the spiritual symbolization of this removal by adopting an extreme Reform platform.

- (4) 1903 and thereafter: The third Temple, by location, ritual, and leadership an expression of what later became known as "classical Reform."<sup>29</sup>

The social and religious forces underlying this St. Paul story can be further elucidated by a glance at their development in the other two communities where Reform Judaism developed, in Minneapolis and Duluth.

Minneapolis was without the first stage, and began its communal religious life on the second level: the German settlers preceded the beginning Eastern settlement, but not by a sufficient number of years to establish a firm tradition. The initial separation was therefore more easily accomplished, and after a few years Shaarai Tov became distinctly Reform. This was accomplished by 1880 when St. Paul was just passing into its decisive third stage.<sup>30</sup>

Consequently, Minneapolis' Shaarai Tov had no third and fourth stages of the St. Paul kind. Its quick turn to Reform antedated the great influx of East European Jews and therefore caused none of the deeper conflicts observable across the river. Its lack of old social tradition never allowed as wide a gap as in St. Paul, and its spiritual journey never carried it to the extreme position of Mount Zion. Even its new building, built in 1903, at the same time as Mount Zion's uptown Temple, could afford to remain in the older neighborhood.<sup>31</sup> And last but not least, its new Rabbi, Samuel N. Deinard, while unequivocally a Reformer,

<sup>29</sup> The lay leadership of Mount Zion remained remarkably constant during the next twenty years, lead by two of the leading businessmen in the city, Jacob Dittenhofer and Adolph Hirschman. For details see W. G. Plaut, *Mount Zion 1856-1956*, pp. 74-79.

<sup>30</sup> See *supra*, chapter 9, p. 67.

<sup>31</sup> For a detailed description of the building and the dedication ceremonies, see R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15-16, and *MTrib*, Dec. 28, 1903.

Iliowizi's successor had been Samuel Marks, a Reformer, whom a contemporary source described in these terms:

His countenance bears the stamp of intellectuality and refinement, and his short, black, silken beard, fresh complexion and glistening black eyes, which shine with considerable lustre through a pair of gold-rimmed spectacles, give him a distinguished presence. He is a grand speaker; his vocabulary



was at the same time a Zionist, whose influence helped to keep his congregation considerably closer to traditional roots.<sup>32</sup>

Temple Emanuel in Duluth presented a third and still different development. It lacked the first two stages of the Mount Zion story. There were no old Duluth "Germans" who, starting with traditional practices, slowly evolved toward Reform. The Temple was incorporated when East European elements were already strongly represented in the community. Founded by members who by background and experience in other cities had already been directed toward Reform, Emanuel at once became a Reform congregation. Its social separation from the traditional segment did, however, not proceed too far. It was no accident, therefore, that the Temple's new rabbi, Maurice Lefkovits, was a man who was moderate in his Reform point of view and nationalistic in his approach to the destiny of the Jewish people.<sup>33</sup>

At the beginning of the century Minnesota's Jewry had, then, not merely created a wealth of organizations and institutions, but it had also brought forth distinctive philosophies and habits, as well as a distinctive social hierarchy. In St. Paul, which had the longest tradition, and where the division of the two communities had become most pronounced, the ultimate rapprochement and re-unification would therefore be the slowest. It would take less time in Minneapolis, and would proceed most quickly in Duluth.

---

is choice, his voice well modulated, with splendid oratorical range; his rhetoric is perfect and one could listen to his eloquence for hours with interest and pleasure.

*Winnipeg Free Press*, March 22, 1890, quoted by Arthur Chiel, *Jewish Experiences in Early Manitoba* (Manitoba Jewish Publications: Winnipeg, 1955), p. 65. Marks had gone to Winnipeg to dedicate the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue. Marks was no stranger to Canada; his first pulpit had been in Montreal. He was born in New York, the son of Rabbi Isaac Marks. After leaving Minneapolis in 1893, he took the pulpit of Beth El Congregation in San Antonio, Texas. See R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 16. See also *infra*, chapter 28, p. 217, note 20.

<sup>32</sup> See *infra*, chapter 28, p. 191 f. The Congregation also faced the Sunday service problem as the following account indicates:

Sunday services have been introduced as a regular feature of the Temple Shaarai Tov, of Minneapolis [Minn.], and the rabbi, Dr. S. N. Deinard, states that these new services will be supplementary to the regular services on Friday evening and Saturday morning, and are not intended to replace them in any manner. (*AI*, Oct. 21, 1909.)

<sup>33</sup> On Maurice Lefkovits see *supra*, chapter 19, p. 139, note 15. The relatively close relationships of the Reform Temple to the East European part of the community is attested by Rabbi Mendel Silber (*ibid.*, note 13).

## *Spiritual Journey: Conservative*

THE OLDER PART of the Jewish community was not the only one which underwent fundamental changes. Once the East European immigrants had passed the initial stage of settlement, once their material circumstances began to improve and their children started to grow up, they manifested both physical and spiritual restlessness. The two were closely interrelated. With the change of neighborhood came also a gradual removal from the old synagogue and its point of view. Only where the population remained substantially in or near its original habitat—as on Minneapolis' old North and South sides, and in St. Paul's West Side and lower town—did the Yiddish tongue and Orthodox ways persist with some degree of stability.

A typical movement occurred in the early part of the century in North Minneapolis:

Oak Lake Addition was a beautiful area, hilly on its west side and heavily wooded. . . . In its early days, it was considered the finest section of town and comprised only the "best people." By 1900 Minneapolis had increased in population to 202,718, representing a growth of about 50,000 people during the preceding ten years, and an increase of approximately 150,000 people from 1880. This growth, of course, was not due to a natural increase, but was due mainly to immigration.<sup>1</sup>

As immigration mounted, the Jewish settlement spread westward. It moved from Fourth Street North along Sixth Avenue North and then to Lyndale Avenue. By 1900, a significant number of Jews were in Oak Lake, where they were at first anything but welcome. What followed was probably typical of neighborhood changes:

<sup>1</sup> Calvin Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities* (Minneapolis, 1937), pp. 77-78.

After the peripheral invasion of the Oak Lake district the mere presence of the Jews seemed to melt the bitter opposition. People became alarmed and frightened at the number of Jews. Many of the Jews were small dealers, some rag peddlers, some fruit men, and still others dealers in junk. . . . Even the pride and dignity of Highland Avenue finally humbled and succumbed to this affront. In 1912 the first Jewish family moved into the Highland district. To close an estate, one of the large residences was sold to a chicken dealer. From this time on, the whole Oak Lake district was rapidly taken over by the Jews. . . .<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, the growing Negro population shifted its center. By 1910, there were 2,592 Negroes in Minneapolis. As Jews began to move away from the area north and east of Sixth Avenue North, Negroes replaced them. This in turn hurried the further relocation of Jews who now went toward Plymouth Avenue and into the new and at first exclusive Homewood district. A generation later, Oak Lake belonged to the most deteriorated districts in the city.<sup>3</sup>

The German Jews also moved. By the time of the First World War they had gone toward the new South Side and had acquired property there for their religious school and social activities. But they were not alone. The Rumanian-Russian group which comprised Adath Jeshurun joined in the southward move. Similarly, in St. Paul, the relocation of the German Jews along Dayton and Summit Avenues, and thereafter up the hill toward Lexington along both sides of Summit Avenue, drew the upper economic brackets of the Eastern community along. Like in Minneapolis, members of the "first" and "second" communities were in 1917 settling side by side in the best residential areas.

This physical relocation heralded a spiritual journey as well. The pressures of the American environment had made inroads even in the most densely populated areas of immigrant settlement. The loosening of residential cohesion was by no means the first reason for the slackening of traditional ways and observances. The rapid Americanization process which took hold especially

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



of the younger generation provided a powerful spiritual ferment.<sup>4</sup> Sabbath observance, daily prayer, and ultimately home observances gave way to an increasing avalanche of traditional defection. Only the provision of a modicum of Jewish education and of some standards of *kashrut* held out in this process of change.<sup>5</sup>

This "reevaluation of values" was attempted differently by members of the East European Jewish community on the one hand, and by the Reform Jews on the other. The latter at an early stage already made religious change a group process buttressed by a distinct philosophy. Reform publicly and consciously proclaimed its divorcement from Orthodoxy. But the East European immigrant and his children who in personal practice were indistinguishable from Reform Jews, proceeded as individuals outside an organized group, and did so in the face of severe disapproval of that authority to which sociologically and theoretically they were supposed to subscribe.

It was inevitable that sooner or later some group sanction had to be found to provide a psychological equilibrium for this large new mass of Jews who had abandoned traditionalism in its European forms but still were not ready to fly into the arms of official Reform. The sanction they sought came from the scholarly analyses of Solomon Schechter whose appraisal of the course of American Jewry led to the formation of new congregations which chose a conscious middle ground and called themselves Conservative.

It was no accident that the genesis of these synagogues in a way duplicated the processes which led to the establishment of Reform temples and their gradual alienation from traditional discipline. Just as the progress of Reform toward more distinctive forms of its own took place in a context of economic advance and subsequent residential separation from the new immigrants who were the bearers of Orthodoxy, so did the Conservative synagogue in its early stages frequently begin its physical exist-

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the novelistic but accurate treatment of this era in St. Paul, provided by Jennie Rosenholtz, *Upon Thy Doorposts* (New York, 1936); see also Myron Brinig, *Singermann* (New York, 1929), for Minneapolis; and, for a later period, the highly colored but still revealing *Eagle at My Eyes*, by Norman Katkov (New York, 1948).

<sup>5</sup> For a vivid account of this progressive abandonment of Orthodox practices, see the personal recollections recorded by A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 219 ff.

ence away from the center of traditional settlement. This was the case in both Minneapolis and St. Paul. To be sure, motivations and circumstances differed and the comparison with Reform's evolution has several flaws. Yet these two communities exemplified clearly that psychologically and sociologically as well as theologically, Conservatism had its origins in relatively similar circumstances as Reform.<sup>6</sup> Only later and in retrospect would it appear otherwise, because for one, the beginnings of Reform had then been forgotten, and further, the members of the new Conservative synagogues were drawing—unlike early Reform—on the same East European Jewish groups as the traditional synagogue.

Conservatism arose at about the same time on both sides of the Mississippi. The fact that Minneapolis preceded St. Paul in this development by a few years may be dismissed as unimportant, yet even this small differential had its traceable causes.

First, Minneapolis had, in the Adath Jeshurun synagogue, a group of people who, at a comparatively early stage, had moved south to an area which never became the hub of a constantly replenished immigration. Sociological separation occurred somewhat earlier here than in St. Paul, where until the turn of the century only very few members of the "second community" had moved away from the two immigration areas in lower town and on the West Side.

Second, the gap between old and new, Reform and Orthodoxy, while significant, was narrower in Minneapolis than in St. Paul. In St. Paul any move on the part of members of the Eastern European sector toward official Reform was weighted with severe psychological handicaps. Reform at Mount Zion was anathema to the newer immigrants, and the social distance which was added to the theological invested any organized effort toward a similar religious grouping with an emotional taboo. In Minneapolis the taboo existed also, but it was never as strong, for neither consciously nor subconsciously had Shaarai Tov acquired the position of extreme self-segregation.

The changes which were in the making first reflected them-

<sup>6</sup> See Mordecai M. Kaplan, *The Future of the American Jew* (New York, 1948), pp. 65, 387 and 416–417.

selves in the personality of the Rabbi whom Adath Jeshurun engaged in 1906. In a way he was reminiscent of Henry Iliowizi: widely travelled, cosmopolitan in outlook and experience, and a scholar of note. He was Solomon Roubin, a fifty-year old man with distinguished features and keen eyes whose colorful background gave promise of dynamic leadership.

He had been born in Suwalki, Poland, had attended *yeshivot* there and in Pressburg where he was ordained, and had then gone to Western Europe. He served as Rabbi in Mézières in the French Ardennes, then farther east in the town of Wittersheim on the Lorraine-Palatinate border, whence he was called back to France where he occupied the pulpit in Bayonne, from 1887 to 1892. The following year he came to America and served in succession in Tyler, Texas; Butte, Montana; and again in Texas, this time in San Antonio. Thereafter, he was found as Principal of the Hebrew School at the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural Settlement in Woodbine, New Jersey. According to another account his European experience had also included the attempt to establish a congregation in Madrid, Spain, and service as assistant to the Chief Rabbi in Marseilles. He was also said to have been curator of the Sutro library in San Francisco, and also Rabbi in Winnipeg, Canada. The very uncertainty of his background was indication of a restless soul, whose scholastic achievements went from participation in the work of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* to a book on Psalms.<sup>7</sup>

He was the type of man who could symbolize the first departure from tradition. By learning and personal habit he belonged to the old school, but by experience and literally world-wide service he was a far cry from the East European rabbis who had been transplanted from the forced ghettos of Russia into a self-imposed seclusion in America. Just what the first changes were which Roubin introduced is no longer known, but we do have a contemporary witness to the fact that already under his incumbency Adath Jeshurun was known as "Conservative," a congregation, readers were informed, which would give "promise of becoming of decided importance in the near future."<sup>8</sup> This was in 1907.

<sup>7</sup> See the conflicting reports in *AJYB*, 1903-1904 (5664), pp. 92-93 and R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 38. Roubin was born Aug. 24, 1854.

<sup>8</sup> R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 38. Danenbaum makes a specific distinction



Roubin was the first traditional rabbi in the Twin Cities to use English, even though doubtlessly he had to speak Yiddish on many official occasions.<sup>9</sup> A few years later Adath Jeshurun was ready for its first American-trained leader. He was C. David Matt, recently graduated from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America—founded by Nina Cohen's father, Sabato Morais, and now guided by Solomon Schechter—which was beginning to make Conservatism a powerful third force in American Jewry.

Matt came to Minneapolis in 1912. He had been in Toledo as a Holy Day preacher, but Adath Jeshurun was his first full-time pulpit. What he lacked in experience he made up in enthusiasm and ideas. He created new educational opportunities for the young, he organized a Sunday School, he preached in English and—perhaps most important—he entered fully into every aspect of community life. He wrote for Deinard's *American Jewish World*, and he wrote well. Often he and Deinard would sharply disagree, especially when the chief editor attacked certain traditional attitudes, or when Junior Editor Matt retaliated with a broadside against Reform. Both sides of the argument would appear in print, and always the disputants were characterised by a gentlemanly regard for each others' convictions.<sup>10</sup> In Matt the burgeoning Conservative movement had its first American representative, and with the help of men like Joseph Schanfeld and Arthur Brin, Adath Jeshurun soon assumed a place of significant influence in the community.<sup>11</sup>

In St. Paul the organization of a Conservative synagogue had to await the uptown movement of the "second" community.

---

between the other Orthodox congregations and Adath Jeshurun. She expressly calls the latter "conservative."

<sup>9</sup> A. I. Gordon's statement, *op. cit.*, p. 153, that Adath at that time did not have an English speaking Rabbi is not correct. Roubin's record of written English alone would contradict this.

<sup>10</sup> C. David Matt was born June 24, 1887, in Kovno [Kaunas], Lithuania, and was educated at the University of Pennsylvania. He remained at Adath Jeshurun until 1927, the year the new synagogue at Dupont Avenue South and 34th Street was built. See *AI*, Aug. 29, 1912; *WWAJ*, 1926.

<sup>11</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1927 (p. 87); A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 153. Arthur Brin was born June 5, 1880, in Chicago, and was brought to Minneapolis as an infant. On his mother's side he was related to the Gittelson family. He married Fanny Fligelman of St. Paul and became active in the Conservative and Reform synagogues. He died Nov. 5, 1947. A B'nai B'rith lodge in Minneapolis is named after him.

When about 1910, six years after Mount Zion had located in the Hill district, there were enough of the East European group residing in the same area, the development of a new temple was a natural consequence. In St. Paul, more distinctly than in Minneapolis, did physical separation from the early traditional immigration areas precede official separation in custom and theology.

On October 9, 1910, a group of men who had moved uptown met at Bowlby Hall under the leadership of Joseph Levy. A week later they decided to organize and elected their first Board. Another two years were needed to consolidate the group sufficiently. Incorporation procedures were begun; a name was chosen. In memory of Aaron Mark whose widow had been very generous with the newly formed synagogue and whose prestige had helped to assure its success, the members called it Congregation Aaron. At High Holy Day time in 1912, the opening service was held, with Reuben Kaufman, a student rabbi from the Jewish Theological Seminary, preaching the first sermons at Ramaley's Hall.<sup>12</sup>

Ground was purchased at Ashland and Grotto. To the Reform congregation which was but two blocks away, Congregation Aaron was still an Orthodox congregation;<sup>13</sup> but soon after the basement of the synagogue was built and Arthur Ginzler was called as Rabbi,<sup>14</sup> even Reformers could recognize a distinctly Conservative trend. Friday evening services were introduced; a Sunday school was organized and, significantly, the congregation began to be referred to as "Temple." When, in 1915, Alfred H. Kahn, a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, was chosen as spiritual leader, the direction of the congregation was firmly impressed on the community. Said the new rabbi:

Conservatism and not destruction will then be my motto in my work as leader of this new movement in the city of St. Paul.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The first Board, elected Oct. 16, 1910, consisted of Joseph Levy, President; Louis F. Orenstein, Vice President; Reuben M. Katz, Treasurer; Samuel Rubenstein, Secretary. Board members were Harry Harris, Louis B. Schwartz, Henry Horowitz, Jacob S. Cohen, Meyer Rosenholtz, Samuel J. Goldberg, Mitchell S. Jacobson. Incorporation took place Sept. 26, 1912. In 1911, a women's group, called "Ladies' Auxiliary," was also established; see *AJW*, Sept. 15, 1916; *AJYB*, 1911-1912 (5672), p. 49.

<sup>13</sup> See *AI*, Oct. 17, 1912; Sept. 28, 1916.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1914.

This defined the movement's position toward Orthodoxy, but Kahn was equally emphatic toward the Reform Jew: "His soul is empty," he stated.<sup>16</sup> Under Kahn's guidance the building project progressed, and by Holy Day time in 1916 the Temple was dedicated.<sup>17</sup> Cantor Salomon Goldstone chanted, and Rabbi Samuel N. Deinard of Minneapolis' Reform Congregation gave the principal address. Now, as at the time of the cornerstone laying, St. Paul's Reform Rabbi was not in attendance, although the new synagogue was but a few hundred yards from his own. Nothing could demonstrate more dramatically the cleavage which still existed in St. Paul.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 10, 1915 (p. 65). Later on, in a document inserted in the cornerstone, the founding of the Congregation was recalled as follows:

Oct. 9th, 1910

On the day above written, a body of prominent Orthodox Jewish men of the City of St. Paul, State of Minnesota, congregated, through appointments with each other, at the Bowlby Hall, of the said city of St. Paul, State of Minnesota, with the sole object of organizing a Conservative Synagogue.

They acquainted themselves with the fact that such conservation was absolutely necessary to promote Modern American Judaism; that the old traditional form of the Jewish Ritual should be followed, omitting such portions of it, that they thought would not interest the younger folks and, also, the coming generation, so that Judaism should live forevermore, through this conservative organization.

See *Temple of Aaron Bulletin*, vol. XXIX, no. 10 (Oct. 18, 1956), p. 2, on the occasion of the Congregation's removal to its new building at Hartford Avenue and Mississippi River Boulevard.

<sup>18</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 10, 1915 (p. 65).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1916. The Temple cost \$50,000.00 to build. The cornerstone had been laid on June 25, with Rabbis Matt and Deinard participating in the rabbinical contingent, and Fred C. Stevens, a former Congressman, representing civic interests. See *ibid.*, May 30, 1916.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1916. One thousand people were present at the ceremony, at which Joseph Levy and Rabbis Matt and Kahn also spoke. Officers and directors of the Temple at this time were: Jacob N. Bernstein (later long-time leader of the Talmud Torah and first President of the Bureau of Jewish Education), Vice President; Abraham B. Churni, Samuel Grosby, Abraham Rosenthal, Samuel Goldberg, Louis Horne, Harry Hertz, Reuben Katz, Samuel Grossman, Ike Rudawsky, Leon Salet (of Mankato), Maurice Edelstein, Harry Harris.

In personal communications Rabbi Philip Kleinman (Aug. 25 and Sept. 4, 1955) also mentioned the following as active early leaders: Dr. Myron Sherper (a president of B'nai B'rith), Alec Finkelstein, David Blumenfeld (South St. Paul, a scholarly gentleman, whose father was the first to be buried in the Temple's cemetery, and whose daughter married Abe Calmenson), Louis Shedorsky, Abe Calmenson, Myron Ravits and Samuel Bronstien, and amongst the women: Mesdames Sam Grosby, Sam Goldberg, Leon Salet, Jacob N. Bernstein and Harry Hertz.

Louis B. Schwartz, one of the founders, later moved to Minneapolis where he became President of Adath Jeshurun.



That year also, in 1916, a Hebrew School was established at Temple of Aaron, and it was this school which later, under the guidance of Kahn's successor, Rabbi Philip Kleinman, became a focal point of progressive education in the city. The Rabbi's niece, Anna Kleinman, came from New York to teach, and Louis Gordon assumed direction of the school. In time, this expanding school was transferred to the community as its largest Talmud Torah.<sup>19</sup>

Rabbi Kleinman's broad interest in the community soon made itself felt. He was an Austrian by birth, spoke German, and by his very background served to bridge the gap between East and West. He began to find acceptance in the general community and became prominent in B'nai B'rith work. His innovations in ritual placed the Temple of Aaron firmly on independent middle ground. There was now a confirmation for boys and girls, there was more English in the service, there was a mixed choir and *bat mizwah* was introduced.<sup>20</sup> The Orthodox segments of the community also began to accept the new movement—an acceptance which had not as yet been accorded the Reform group—and began to send their children to the synagogue Hebrew school. Orthodox up-town residents attended the Aaron Talmud Class. The potentially wide cleavage in the “second” community was

<sup>19</sup> Anna Kleinman later became Mrs. Louis B. Schwartz and was active in communal work in both St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Louis Gordon came in 1919 from Superior where he had become prominent in Zionist and educational work. “Always a leader in communal activities,” said the contemporary notice announcing his removal to St. Paul (*AJW*, Sept. 26, 1919). His great devotion to the upbuilding of the Talmud Torah identified him for more than a generation with the cause of Hebrew education in St. Paul. In 1958, he still served as Principal of the Talmud Torah.

Rabbi Kleinman was a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1917) and had attended the College of the City of New York and Columbia University. He later moved to Portland, Oregon, and in 1958, was Rabbi Emeritus in that city.

<sup>20</sup> Personal communication from Rabbi Kleinman (1955); see also *AJW*, Oct. 12, 1917. In 1922, the Temple had a Hebrew school registration of 150 children; a Sunday school registration of 175; a Ladies Auxiliary and an Alumni Association. Officers at that time were Sam Stein, President; Harry Silverman, Vice President; David Brussell, Financial Secretary; Samuel L. Grosby, Recording Secretary; Louis Perelstein, Treasurer. Board members were Abraham S. Mark, Herman J. Butwinick, Morris Feldstein, Jacob Rosenfield, Max Fried, Harry Hertz, Ike Rudawsky. See *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 40). The first Confirmation class consisted of nine girls (Adelaide Aronson, Bessie Grossman, Ruth and Sylvia Edelstein, Stella Fredman, Gladys Cohen, Rachel Peilen, Elsie Thomsen, Lillian Winer) [*ibid.*, May 25, 1917]; the second had two boys among them (Nathan Appelbaum, valedictorian; for others see *AI*, May 9, 1918); the third class, however, was again without boys (*ibid.*, June 5, 1919).

considerably moderated by the presence of the Conservative temple.

In St. Paul, even more than in Minneapolis, the Conservative movement thus fulfilled a role which was sociological as well as theological in nature. American in training, cultured in the best Western sense, Kleinman and Matt presented to the older community of German origin the new face of the rising second generation which had come from the 1880–1900 migration. To the Orthodox element they were, with their Hebraic learning and Zionist interests, acceptable leaders in the new emerging unified community. Even the *hazzan* of the Temple symbolized this dual appeal to old and new. He advertised himself as

Rev. Dr. Salomon H. Goldstone, Obercantor of Temple of Aaron.

Positively the only doctor Specialist and antiseptic Mohel in the Northwest.<sup>21</sup>

He announced availability of his services for engagements, marriages, and concerts with or without orchestra, and promised "Satisfaction Guaranteed."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> He was from Vienna where his name had been Goldstein. See AJW, Sept. 15, 1916.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1916. Cantors often made good newspaper copy; see, for example, *SPD*, Sept. 11, 1911 (p. 11, col. 2), which published a large picture of Sigmund Barnett, the "Barrytone Cantor." He was arriving for the Holy Days to sing in the Assembly Hall of the old Capitol. St. Paul had high musical standards when it came to cantors. Eli Kreidberg who had served in Boston was cantor at the Sons of Jacob Synagogue. A musician of fine endowments, he possessed a splendid cantorial repertoire and was famous for his boys' choirs. He died in 1956.

## *Spiritual Journey: Orthodox*

THE ORTHODOX community itself meanwhile reflected its numerical growth by the erection of several new synagogues. Since 1907, when in St. Paul the Russian Brotherhood, Sharey Hessed [*Sha'are Hessed*], Sons of Zion, Sons of Jacob and Sons of Abraham had comprised its organized totality,<sup>1</sup> others had come into being. They were fed exclusively by continuous immigration which was reaching its height during the first decade of the century. The West Side was now the primary location for this immigrant community; then, as the top economic layer of the lower town Jewish group moved toward the hill, the area from Tenth to Fourteenth Streets became available for low-income occupancy. The Sons of Moses at Thirteenth, and Adath Yeshurun at Fourteenth Street and Canada now joined the older Sons of Jacob and Sons of Abraham in that area and worshipped in buildings which had been Christian churches.<sup>2</sup>

Herman Simon was Rabbi of the West Side congregations. Born Sept. 4, 1860, in Vilna, he had received his rabbinical training at the *yeshivot* of Volozhin and Mir. A man of many talents—he was a student of Kant and Spinoza as well as of the traditional *halakah* and played the piano with expertness—he migrated to the United States in the early 1880's and first served in Jersey City, New Jersey. He was a man of great energy, was widely respected for his learning and, while he was firmly holding to traditional Judaism as his way of life, was not insensitive to

<sup>1</sup> *AJYB*, 1907–1908 (5668), p. 225. Religious leaders were Hiam Mickler (Russian Brotherhood), Jacob Aronsohn (Sons of Jacob), Simon Kovarsky (Sons of Zion). Among the more prominent lay leaders were Louis Abrahamson, Joseph Levine, Mauritz Rossmann, Sol Goldbloom, Isadore Baker, Louis Bendel.

<sup>2</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 42). Sons of Moses was largely composed of Russian and Rumanian Jews and dedicated its building on Sept. 19, 1909; *AJYB*, 1910–1911 (5771), p. 336. On the West Side, the Sons of Israel was organized in 1908



the realities with which Orthodoxy had to deal. He had come to St. Paul in 1888 and in the years following established himself firmly as the spokesman for the West Side. His most significant contribution to the community was the creation and building of the Hebrew Institute, which owed its existence largely to his inspiration.<sup>3</sup>

Rabbi Joseph B. Hurvitz guided the lower town community, even though at first he was Rabbi of Sons of Jacob only.<sup>4</sup> He was thirty-one years old when he arrived in the city in 1908, with a rabbinical diploma from the Eishishok *yeshibah* in Lithuania and a record of service as rabbi in his native Poland. He was a small frail man, but full of effervescent vitality, a preacher of considerable note and a man whose aggadic knowledge was greatly admired. He soon was a familiar figure in St. Paul, with his quick steps and flowing red beard, known by many as "Der Roiter Rov" [the Red Rabbi], even long after his beard had turned to grey and silvery white. He too was aware of the defection which Orthodoxy was suffering, and while his attitude toward these changes was rigidly traditional, he knew that every attempt had to be made to free the immigrants from their self-imposed social bounds and integrate them with the total community. He, there-

---

and dedicated its structure at Fairfield and Robertson Streets, April 5, 1908; *ibid.*, 1908-1909 (5779), pp. 51 and 125. On the history of the Capitol City Hebrew School, see *ibid.*, 1911-1912 (5672), p. 49; *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937 (supplement p. 13); Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 45). The St. Paul Hebrew Institute was dedicated Nov. 6, 1911; see *supra*, chapter 24, p. 175, note 9, and *infra*, chapter 30, p. 226, note 3. The Sons of Abraham had taken over Mount Zion's Temple at Tenth and Minnesota Streets (*AJYB*, 1904-1905 [5665], p. 369; dedication on August 23, 1903). On its later history see *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 42), which lists the Reverend E. Cohen as Rabbi and gives other officers. W. H. Hennessy, *op. cit.*, p. 185, who only lists Sons of Zion (dedicated 1902; see also note in *MZM*, vol. IV, July 6, 1902, p. 14) and Sons of Abraham is, of course, badly informed. In 1954, Sons of Abraham would once again take over the Mount Zion Temple, on Avon Street and Holly Avenue; and in 1955 combine with Sons of Moses to form Beth Gedaliah Leib Congregation; see *SPD*, April 15, 1955. It was named after George Kaplan whom Rabbi Kleinman credits with "opening an era of modernism in St. Paul Orthodoxy," while he was still residing on the West Side (personal communication from Rabbi Kleinman, Nov. 9, 1955). Sons of Zion in 1957 combined with Sharay Shomayim and acquired Temple of Aaron at Ashland Street and Grotto Avenue, and took the name of Beth Israel.

<sup>3</sup> Simon died Sept. 9, 1946, just as the old West Side Jewish settlement was disappearing. *AJW*, Sept. 13, 1946; *SPD*, Sept. 10, 1946. See also *supra*, chapter 24, p. 175, note 9. According to his son, Eugene, the Rabbi's hobby was collecting and rebuilding old watches.

<sup>4</sup> By 1915, he was Rabbi also at Adath Jeshurun (*AJYB*, 1915-1916 [5676]), p. 330 (Solomon Wolkoff was listed as the Congregation's Secretary).

fore, began to participate actively in Jewish communal affairs. He headed the St. Paul Mizrahi Zionist organization and was elected a representative of St. Paul to the American Jewish Congress at its New York convention in 1923.<sup>5</sup> Although he had an adequate command of English, he preferred to use Yiddish and by its free use in communal gatherings and council meetings emphasized the equality which he felt the Orthodox community had not had in the past but was now rapidly obtaining. His conscious use of bilingualism in public Jewish affairs was in this way a further contribution toward giving the newer immigrants a sense of status which heretofore they had lacked. He could not know then that almost immediately after his death, in 1954, the synagogues over which he had presided for half a century would be torn down. Almost fifty years after Rabbi Hurvitz's arrival, a government housing authority decreed the final removal of the old lower town Jewish settlement (most Jews had already left the area), and marked the visible end of the community's division.

Serving with Hurvitz at the Sons of Jacob was Cantor Eli Kreidberg, a modest man and fine musician whose choir was the training ground for many a good voice. Said an admiring contemporary: "It is really a treat to hear him delivering the services, particularly on the Special Holidays, at which times many men of splendid talent are brought from other cities to assist him."<sup>6</sup>

The religious situation in Minneapolis paralleled that in St. Paul; but since 1906, when Sharei Zedeck had been organized,<sup>7</sup> no new Orthodox congregation had been founded. The existing

<sup>5</sup> WWAJ, *loc. cit.* Hurvitz was born in September, 1877, and had served as Rabbi in Lesko [Poland] from 1904 to 1907. During a good deal of his incumbency at the Sons of Jacob, his lay leadership was composed of Alexander Silver, Samuel Coddon, and Lewis Paper. Silver, who had been born in Poland in 1866, had briefly gone to Deadwood, South Dakota, and had come to St. Paul in 1884. He married Edith Silberstein. At the time of his death, on Nov. 18, 1929, he was President of the Capitol City Hebrew School. Paper was born April 27, 1864, in Kovno [Kaunas], Lithuania, came to the United States in 1881 and to St. Paul in 1891. He died March 6, 1924, after a successful business career in the steel industry. He was married to Annie F. Shapira. Coddon was born in 1856, and came to St. Paul in 1884 from Suwalki, Lithuania. He married Dora Levinson, had his business career in meat packing and then in textiles, and died on Dec. 12, 1929 (information supplied by the families; see also W. H. Hennessy, *op. cit.*, p. 453).

<sup>6</sup> AJW, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 41). See also *supra*, chapter 26, p. 201, note 22.

<sup>7</sup> AJYB, 1916-1917 (5677), p. 264; see also the account of its fiftieth anniversary celebration, AJW, May 25, 1956 (p. 7). Louis Seltzer, one of its early



synagogues had shown a marked degree of stability. Congregation Kenesseth Israel was worshipping at Sixth and Lyndale Avenue North; Congregation B'nai Abraham was located in a former Norwegian Methodist Episcopal church at Thirteenth Avenue and Ninth Street South; Agudas Achim Congregation still was at Seventeenth Avenue South, near Franklin, and had joined B'nai Abraham in the organization of a South Side Talmud Torah. Mikro Kodesh Synagogue had not moved either and was still at Eighth Avenue North and Oak Lake Avenue, not too far from Sharei Zedeck on Bryant and Eighth. Congregation Tifereth B'nai Jacob and Gemelus Chesed had also remained in their North Side locations.<sup>8</sup> This physical stability mirrored the small shift which had taken place on the North and old South Sides since their initial settlement around 1900. The movement toward the new South (or West) Side was just beginning, and here Adath Jeshurun was meeting the needs of the upper class traditional element. As it moved farther away from the two centers of immigration it turned, like Temple of Aaron in St. Paul, more decisively toward Conservatism. Even during the next generation no Orthodox synagogue was to follow it into the new area.

Internal changes were taking place in the heart of the North Side, and were expressed at the close of the war by a new religious group which, without physical separation from its home environment, proceeded nonetheless in moving inevitably toward Conservatism. As early as 1913, there had been stirrings at Kenesseth Israel which led to the temporary introduction of late Friday evening services and the equally short-lived employment of an English-speaking rabbi.<sup>9</sup> A number of young people who had

---

leaders, was succeeded by Rabbi Solomon I. Levin (born in Poland in 1887) who, in 1958, was in point of service dean of Minnesota's rabbis. Further details on Sharei Zedeck, *ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 49); A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> AJW, Sept. 22, 1922 (pp. 46 ff.), where a good survey is presented with a listing of active workers and pictures of the synagogues. See also Kenesseth Israel, *Golden Anniversary*, p. 16. There were also small Hasidic gatherings. In 1916 Deinard remarked ironically on the "lucrative" advice which Rabbi Moishele Lipschitz was dispensing during a visit to the city; AJW, Dec. 15, 1916. See also A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-162.

A quasi-communal organization was maintained by a group of Jews living at the north edge of town, in a wooded section. They were commonly referred to as "Der Vald." They were farmers and had their own synagogue.

<sup>9</sup> His name was given as S. Davidovitz, but no further information was located. See AJW, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 22).



come under the influence of George Gordon and had worshipped and worked together in the Talmud Torah Alumni formed a Young People's Synagogue for the purpose of creating a medium of their own for religious expression. Many of them had seen war service and had returned with new ideas for the revival and intensification of Jewish life. They were able to interest the older leaders of the Talmud Torah in their project, and in 1921 they formed Beth El Synagogue. Within one year the congregation grew to over one hundred "of the most prominent families," as their Rabbi pointed out, as if to remind the community that here, too, sociological factors played a distinctive role. Abraham N. Bearman, long active in the Talmud Torah and in philanthropy, became its first President. George Gordon, even though he also belonged to Temple Israel, expressed his fundamental support of the new venture by agreeing to serve on its first Board of Directors.<sup>10</sup>

The integration process was finally aided by the Orthodox leadership itself. Its leading rabbinical figure entered community life and commanded city-wide attention. Forty-year old Solomon Mordecai Silber<sup>11</sup> had succeeded Rabbi Aaron H. Sinai in 1902 in the pulpit of Keneseth Israel and had assisted in the rapid development of the Talmud Torah, where he, the European-schooled *rab* had learned to co-operate with non-traditionalists like George Gordon. Silber had come directly from Lithuania, had studied at the Volozhin *yeshibah*, and was a scholar of repute. He was quickly convinced that in America Jewish Orthodoxy could survive only if it integrated itself into the life of the total Jewish community. He took the lead in this effort. The man with the formal top hat, two-pointed beard and twinkling eyes was seen at all major communal gatherings and listened to with

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, where other families are listed. Rabbi Abraham M. Heller had been director of the Talmud Torah's new Social Service Department. Abraham Nathaniel Bearman was a native of Tauroggen [Taurage], Lithuania, where he was born on Dec. 8, 1873. He had been educated at the University of Minnesota and besides his interest in the Talmud Torah, took a leading part in the activities of the Jewish Family Welfare Board and the Jewish Sheltering Home. See WWAJ, *loc. cit.* He died in 1956.

<sup>11</sup> Silber's first names were variously listed as Mordecai Solomon, Solomon Mordecai, or simply S. M. Since the latter abbreviation became his most usual cognomen, we have uniformly given his name as Solomon Mordecai.

respect. By his activities he helped to advance Orthodox Jewry in Minneapolis to a new status of intra-Jewish acceptance on the one, and communal integration on the other hand. His passing in 1925 was mourned by Jews of all groupings and persuasions.<sup>12</sup>

In Duluth, the general community picture approached that of Minneapolis more closely than that of St. Paul. Because of the smaller size of the city, however, the spatial distribution of the Jewish population could not undergo great diversification, and a situation not unlike that existing on Minneapolis' North Side developed. There was relative stability of organization. Also, the smaller community elicited and preserved greater loyalty to institutions with which one's family had been connected for years. Consequently, there were no "break-away" congregations in the years after the major migration had come to a close, and physical removal to another part of town could have only a minor effect on the total religious structure.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the "German" congregation had a strongly Zionist rabbi and had never reached the extreme position of radical Reform. This facilitated a direct transition of some families from Orthodoxy to Reform. A Conservative synagogue could therefore develop only under conditions similar to those which led to the formation of Beth El on Minneapolis' North Side. This was precisely what happened.

Like the Minneapolis Talmud Torah, the old Moses Montefiore Hebrew Institute in Duluth had become more than merely a school for the teaching of the holy tongue. It had in effect also become a community center which made a successful appeal to young adults and adults as well. After the first World War it developed a Young Folks League, a Sisterhood and soon was experimenting with religious services of its own. Under the guidance of Rabbi Israel Lebendiger, a graduate of the Conservative Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Friday evening worship was introduced, and with 250 children in weekday and Sunday school a full-fledged Conservative movement was under way in Duluth.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 157; R. Danenbaum, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 35. He died March 17, 1925.

<sup>13</sup> Only Shaarei Zedek, an Orthodox congregation, was added to the list, despite a marked growth of the Jewish population; *AJYB, 1909-1910 (5770)*, p. 176.

<sup>14</sup> Rabbi Israel Lebendiger, a native of Russia, had graduated in the class of

Where congregations existed in the smaller towns, the number of Jews was not sufficient to allow for significant theological and sociological stratification. There were no Reform congregations in these communities, and their absence reduced the trend toward Conservatism as well. Throughout the state the small synagogues remained traditional in nature. Even where the organization of the community came relatively late, like in Rochester, it was a foregone conclusion that it would take place on the only basis which then provided the common denominator. Through the days of the First World War this was still traditional Orthodoxy.

When the Rochester congregation made its bow it was attended by much public good will and a good deal of amusing misunderstanding. The first Jews had come to the city around 1900. Prior to their arrival, Judaism was known in Rochester, like in many a similar town, only in the context of Biblical history, real or imagined. People had heard a minister at the Palace Opera House give a lecture on the Temple in Jerusalem and had been able to admire the reverend gentleman's visual demonstrations: for he had come dressed in high priestly gowns, had shown models of Temple furniture—one-sixth of actual size, it was stated—and had given them a "fully illustrated Scripture lesson."<sup>15</sup>

No wonder then that, when, in 1910, enough of the resident families in Rochester joined together for a synagogue, the informative account which the local paper rendered was couched in terms of Biblical history, replete with priests and sacrificial altars. The readers were treated to this description:

#### JEWISH CONGREGATION MEETS TOMORROW

##### Organization is Now Complete

The Hebrew Congregation of Rochester, Minnesota, is the name of an organization that has just been formed by those of Jewish descent in North Rochester. Though they have no resident priest regular services are observed. None of the solemn and symbolic ritual is omitted, and the prayer meetings are most impressive. The Jewish colony has been growing steadily for several years past and the need for an organization to train up the children in the ways of their fathers has been

---

1914 and had succeeded to the leadership of the Talmud Torah. About the institution's origin, see *supra*, chapter 19, p. 136; about its post-war leadership, see *AJW*, Sept. 30, 1921 (p. 53).

<sup>15</sup> *Rochester Post*, May 14, 1886 (p. 3).



keenly felt for some time. Public devotions have not been possible except upon an occasional visit from a priest or rabbi from a distant city, and private training and prayer were all that the people of this faith could give their children.

About two months ago the steps were taken to remedy conditions and to give all of Hebrew parentage in this city the opportunity to worship according to the time-honored customs. Today the congregation's officers are:

*President* — DAVID MORRIS

*Trustee* — I[SAAC] RUBENSTEIN

*Secretary* — SAMUEL RUMELSKY

*Treasurer* — HARRY LEWIS

They meet regularly on Saturday for religious ceremonies in which prayer plays a common part at the home of one of their members, the venerable David Morris. Business is not allowed to intrude on the sacred sessions and all matters relating to finance and government are deferred to Sunday. There are fourteen members and the treasury is in a prosperous condition. As yet the people have no thought of erecting a synagogue, but if interest grows in the proportion manifest today, it will not be many years before the Hebrew congregation of Rochester will have its own house of worship, its sacrificial altar and own priest.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Olmsted County Democrat*, July 1, 1910 (p. 3). See also *ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1909 (p. 5). Grateful acknowledgment is made to Rabbi Aaron Segal, then of Rochester, for valuable information rendered. According to the recollections of old settlers, most of the early arrivals were junk peddlers.

## *The Captains*

HISTORY DOES not deal with "ifs." Perhaps it is therefore idle to speculate what might have happened had certain men been in places other than those assigned to them by the course of events. Yet such speculation has its instructiveness, for it focuses our attention on the commanding influence which men can exert upon their times and on the importance of those who were chosen to captain their ships of circumstance.

In the spring of 1899, St. Paul's Reform congregation was looking for a rabbi. There were many applications, and amongst them were those of young men who would in later years acquire great distinction. There was Hyman S. Enelow, a Talmudic scholar of considerable proportions, whose ability would later be rewarded by a call to Temple Emanuel in New York. There was also a young man who wrote from his post in Paducah, Kentucky — and here we cannot resist the luxury of speculation. For this applicant was Samuel N. Deinard who shortly thereafter would indeed be called to Minnesota. But it would not be to St. Paul that he would go; it would be to the neighbor across the river.<sup>1</sup> What would have happened to Jewish life in St. Paul if instead of the strong anti-traditionalist and anti-Zionist Isaac Rypins who was ultimately chosen, the teacher for St. Paul's next generation would have been a moderate Reformer and strong Zionist like Deinard? Perhaps this eventuality simply could not occur, for Mount Zion had already developed its own character and viewpoint to such a degree that it could not seriously consider men like Deinard and Enelow. Perhaps its distinctive spiritual forms had already become too definite to permit any one except a like-minded leader to assume command.

<sup>1</sup> MZM, vol. IV, April 2, 1899 (p. 167).

Isaac L. Rypins was a native of Poland. Often, when he addressed Christian audiences, he would dwell on the experiences of his childhood and for his main topic give "a vivid description of his home life in Poland."<sup>2</sup> He went to Berlin while still in his 'teens and then proceeded to New York and Cincinnati. Here he attended high school and university and graduated from Hebrew Union College with the seventh class, in 1889. His first pulpit was in Evansville, Indiana, where he remained for ten years until his call to St. Paul.

He was well fitted to become Mount Zion's Rabbi. His philosophy tended toward a broad universalism. He saw in Judaism a prophetic call to mankind toward a higher moral order. To him, the Jewish people was a spiritual concept rather than a physical reality. The Jew had become the bearer of a mission, and to exercise this mission to greatest advantage his dispersion among the Gentiles was a *conditio sine qua non*. Nationalism, especially in the form of Zionism, was to Rypins a double contradiction: it violated the spirit of the universal mission of the Jew which could only be achieved in the Diaspora, and it concretized a spiritual idea into political reality—a far cry, so it seemed to him and to the classical school he represented, from the supra-national prophetic urgings of the Bible.

Rypins was a widely-read man, sensitive to the literary and philosophic movements of the age. His was the optimism of the turning century: science and rationalism were drawing mankind upward toward a higher state of perfection. America was God's chosen land destined to lead men on into their better future, and Jews could see in the American environment a significant realization of their religious dream. Rypins was a patriot in the old sense. Like many an immigrant he took America's message to heart and looked to the new era as the "American Century." Still, he was too intellectual a man to be a chauvinist. He preserved his faculty of criticism, a faculty which in the later days of the World War was to bring him into grave difficulty with his community.

Traditional Judaism, according to Rypins, belonged to the past, and even if it had a precarious present in the New World, it had

<sup>2</sup> AI, Dec. 5, 1907. He was born on June 24, 1862, the son of Israel Rypins; AJYB, 1903-1904 (5664), p. 93.



no future. He thought very little of Hebrew as a necessary discipline for Jewish survival, and in time he eliminated it from the religious school curriculum. He stripped the service ritual more and more of its Hebraic character. English hymns predominated, and the sermons dealt primarily with the problems of the day and the issues which stirred the world, rather than with an exposition of Jewish thought and lore. The Sabbath of Jewish tradition, Rypins believed, could best be observed as a day of spiritual regeneration if it would be shifted to Sunday. For fifteen years he attempted to have Sunday services replace the more traditional *shabbat* worship. For a while the congregation agreed to experiments in this direction, but in the end the Sunday question was shelved: Mount Zion had here reached the farthest point in its movement toward radical Reform. Beyond this point it would not go.<sup>3</sup>

It was natural that a man of Rypins' personality and inclination would make a deep impression on the Christian community. Here was a representative of the Jews whom they could fully understand and admire, to whom they could and did listen with absorbed interest. Soon Rypins was engaged in representing the Jewish community on a multitude of fronts. He spoke before innumerable audiences of all sorts; he lectured to university groups and was enormously popular. He never committed his lectures and sermons to paper after he had once met with an embarrassing situation during his first year in the rabbinate. He had prepared, written and reworked his sermon, but when the time for delivery came he realized to his horror that he had forgotten the script. Henceforth, he foreswore all written preparation and became a most eloquent and fluent extemporaneous speaker.<sup>4</sup> In 1916, the local Jewish paper said of him:

The Gentile population of St. Paul undoubtedly regards him as the most representative Jew of the city.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, chapter 25, p. 189, note 28.

<sup>4</sup> Recollections of Dr. Russell Rypins (San Francisco) [personal communication to the author (1954)].

<sup>5</sup> *AJW*, May 12, 1916; H. Castle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 543. On the occasion of his re-election to a five year term, the St. Paul *Daily News* (quoted in *AI*, May 11, 1916) wrote editorially:

Dr. Rypins has been and is a powerful force for good in this community. His primary work, of course, has been the building up of his congregation,

There was a barb hidden in this praise: the writer evidently did not think that all St. Paul Jews took Rypins to be their representative. For while Rypins appeared at Jewish community functions and participated in the major dedicatory events of the Orthodox community, he was by nature and temperament a faithful representative of the position of his own members. He fundamentally represented one group only and not the totality of Jewish life. Despite his broad sympathies and magnificent efforts in behalf of Neighborhood House, to whose founders and ardent workers he belonged, he was taken by the Orthodox population as part of another sphere. His philanthropic and social activities were recognized by them, but he did not belong to their world in which Hebrew and Yiddish, Jewish peoplehood and Palestine had first call on sentiment and loyalty. Rypins represented the old community. Socially, philosophically and religiously, it maintained a conscious distance from the burgeoning new element, a distance which remained essentially intact until after the first World War was over.

Just as Minneapolis and St. Paul had become separate entities with their communal and religious characteristics, so did their religious leaders symbolize this difference. Iliowizi and Wechsler had provided a distinct contrast. Now Deinard, who assumed the pulpit of Shaarai Tov in 1902, and his St. Paul colleague were poles apart.

Samuel N. Deinard was ten years younger than Rypins. He had been born in Russia, had been brought to Jerusalem at an early age, then had acquired a Western education at the Jewish Teachers Seminary in Cologne, had come to America and here, at the

---

a large accomplishment in itself. In a much larger way, however, he has helped to build St. Paul. He has had a part in many progressive activities. He has become one of the most forceful and public-spirited of our citizens. Dr. Rypins also has helped largely to interpret the Jew to his neighbors in that great American fusion of races which Israel Zangwill so graphically presents in "The Melting Pot." Dr. Rypins is a notable representative of his race and religion, none the less a Jew because he is truly American. Mount Zion congregation is to be congratulated in retaining Dr. Rypins for St. Paul.

On Rypins' part in the national rabbinical convention which met in St. Paul in 1911, see *CCAR Yearbook*, vol. XXI (1911), *passim*. He was an active leader in civic affairs and a member of the Board of the United Charities. He also served on governmental commissions and represented the state at various conferences (see *AI*, Jan. 20, 1921).

Universities of Pennsylvania, De Pauw and Chicago received undergraduate and graduate degrees.<sup>6</sup> He had a fluent command of Hebrew and Yiddish, Arabic, French and German; he knew Slavic languages and his English was precise, yet elegant.<sup>7</sup> None who read his many essays and articles in the American press could possibly divine that Deinard had come to know the English language relatively late in his educational development. He was a born writer whose pen spoke with wit and imagination. He would not rest until he had created a medium which could regularly carry his written message to the whole Jewish population. After many false starts and disappointments the *American Jewish World* was finally established successfully, and week after week Editor Deinard would comment on the great issues of Jewish existence and would write voluminously on Jewish literature and religion.<sup>8</sup>

There were few subjects on which he did not touch, but tantamount and ever recurrent were the two central themes which absorbed his interest: Zionism and the synagogue. To him these two were inseparable, for they represented Israel and Torah, the two essential human aspects of the traditional trilogy of Jewish life.\* Without the people of Israel there could be no Torah, and without learning and worship the continued existence of Israel as a people was a contradiction in terms. A fervent believer in Jewish peoplehood and in the oneness of Jewish life, he had a deep conviction that the future of Jews and Judaism was welded

<sup>6</sup> See *AJYB*, 1903-1904 (5664), p. 50; *AJW*, Oct. 14, 1921, and Sept. 22, 1922; R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 17; A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35; *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937. He was born on Jan. 25, 1872, in Rossijeny, near Kovno [Kaunas], Lithuania, the son of David Mendel Deinard. Before coming to Minneapolis, he had served the South Side Hebrew Congregation in Chicago for two years.

<sup>7</sup> Immediately upon coming to Minneapolis, Deinard was appointed to the chair of Semitic languages at the University. His extensive writings appeared in *Ha-Tehiyyah*, the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, the Hebrew encyclopedia *Ozar Yisrael*, the *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, and elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> The *Jewish Weekly* (which was known as *American Jewish World* from July, 1915 on), began its regular and uninterrupted appearance on June 12, 1912, but no issues prior to July, 1915, could be located. Deinard was Editor; Leo Frisch, Managing Editor; Rabbi C. David Matt of Adath Jeshurun, Assistant Editor (in 1917, he was replaced by Gustavus Loevinger); and Jesse B. Calmenson, City Editor. Beginning with the issue of Oct. 17, 1919, Frisch assumed full control and became Editor and Managing Director. Deinard remained in the position of Editorial Contributor until his death.

\* The three foundations of Judaism are said to be God, Israel and Torah.



to the Zionist ideal. Rare was the moment when he did not dwell with prophetic fervor on this thought.

But with no less insistence did he feel that the spiritual regeneration of the Jew must come through the synagogue, through Jewish learning and through a God-centered existence. In the American context this could be done only by a progressive, liberal approach to religion. All else was foredoomed to failure. Just as fervently as he propounded Zionism did he proclaim the ideas of Reform Judaism. Without being dogmatic he was nonetheless, like any prophet, convinced that he spoke with the tongue of ultimate truth. It would be a liberal Judaism for American Jews or none at all.

To be sure, his liberalism was not that of Rypins. Deinard was emotionally too deeply tied to the totality of Jewish living to adopt a radical position. His Reform was of necessity dual in character: rationally he stood by its basic premises, but at the same time his formal and ritual approach to it was tinged with traditional sentiment.

Thus, he had to carry the battle of rabbi and writer in two directions at once: against the unyielding proponents of Orthodoxy on the right to whom he had to interpret the truths of Reform, and against the violently anti-Zionist wing of Reform on the other, especially against some of his extreme-minded colleagues around the country. To them he had to stand his ground as a Zionist, while to his Zionist associates, most of whom were impatient with Reform Judaism, he had to demonstrate the essential compatibility of nationalism and liberalism.<sup>9</sup> On neither issue was Deinard satisfied with defending his position; he constantly mounted an attack. Just as Zionism was *the* solution of the Jewish problem, so Reform was the only way of the religious Jew of tomorrow.

The two strongest spiritual currents amongst modern Jews [are] Zionism and Reform Judaism. Both are the continuation of Messianism.<sup>10</sup>

Speaking of the young American Jews, Deinard predicted:

<sup>9</sup> AJW, *passim*; for example, April 18 and 25, 1919.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1916.

Judaism, to appeal to them, must be of the liberal Reform type, or they will be lost to Israel's faith altogether.<sup>11</sup>

President Woodrow Wilson had given White House endorsement to Zionism, over the protests of Jewish Congressman Julius Kahn. Deinard had bitterly criticized Kahn while the anti-Zionist press had lauded him, and in turn the *American Israelite* had taken Deinard to task. But the Minneapolis rabbi was not to be trifled with. He could often be forgiving and understanding of the opposition, but when his ire was aroused he could also be brilliantly satirical and unrelenting. His biting answer was worth reading, and it culminated in a broadside thrust against the "editorial pages of the *Israelite*."<sup>12</sup>

He deplored the increasing disinterest in the synagogue and analyzed the desire of Jews to be identified with so-called "rationalist societies."<sup>13</sup> If there was a slackening of philanthropic activity, it was in part due to the lack of attachment which charity workers themselves had to the synagogue. "Neglect breeds neglect," he wrote.<sup>14</sup> He scored the sponsorship of Friday evening dances by Jewish groups;<sup>15</sup> he pleaded for weddings in Temples rather than halls, clubs and hotels, because this would make for less levity and more sanctity.<sup>16</sup> He did not hesitate to criticize traditional Judaism, but he was equally quick to point to weaknesses in Reform practice.<sup>17</sup>

In economic matters he was an adherent of Henry George's single tax; on the social front he was a fighter for race equality. He was not content to merely write about it. On one occasion, a Negro dentist was unable to find an office location. Deinard called his close friend, Dr. George Gordon. "You must come downtown with me," he said, "and help me find an office for a

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, July 20, 1917. For another example, see *ibid.*, June 28, 1918.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, March 21, 1919. On Reform's attitude toward Zionism see Appendix H, *infra*, pp. 316-317.

<sup>13</sup> *AJW*, Nov. 24, 1916, and April 20, 1917.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1916.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1917.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1916. Thirty years later, in 1948, members of the Minnesota Rabbinical Association resolved to officiate henceforth only if the wedding took place in home or synagogue.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, *AJW*, Jan. 28, 1916, which carried a spirited editorial about non-Jewish singers in the choir of the Temple.

Negro dentist. They are trying to exclude him from all the office buildings.”<sup>18</sup>

In the Jewish community he was indefatigable. He helped to organize the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Jewish Home and Free Dispensary Society and also a Hebrew Free Loan Society.<sup>19</sup> His own congregation grew enormously, and one of the first acts of his dynamic leadership was the building of a new Temple.<sup>20</sup> He served as the bridge between the old and the new, between Reform and tradition, between East and West, and therein lay perhaps his greatest contribution. The small, fiery, liberal rabbi was accepted and honored as a Jewish leader by all portions of the community. Came *Rosh Hashanah*, and Rabbi Deinard would spend the second day (when his own Temple had no services) at Orthodox Keneseth Israel where he was invited to deliver the sermon—in Yiddish, of course. Many were the assemblies which he addressed in this their mother tongue. The rabbi who represented Reform but also worshipped in the Orthodox synagogue became the symbol of his era in Minneapolis, in which the gap between the old and the new was rapidly narrowing and closing.

<sup>18</sup> George J. Gordon, “Reminiscences of Dr. Samuel N. Deinard,” in *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (pp. 9 ff.).

<sup>19</sup> See R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> See the detailed description of the building and dedication (*ibid.*).

In 1883, the Temple had had some seventy members (*AI*, Nov. 30, 1883); this number had not substantially increased during the following decade (*ibid.*, June 6, 1895). Only after Deinard came, did membership reach the hundred mark and thereafter increase rapidly. The pulpit had been vacant for some months after Iliowizi had left; a Rabbi Cohn of Chicago had filled it temporarily, in 1888; then, in January, Rabbi Ignatz Miller of Kalamazoo, Michigan, was elected, but at the last moment found himself “unable to fill the engagement.” *AI*, Feb. 7 and March 14, 1889; for other data of the time see *ibid.*, March 30, Aug. 17, Sept. 7, Dec. 14, Dec. 28, 1888, and April 18, 1889. Samuel Marks (see *supra*, chapter 25, p. 191, note 31) was elected thereafter (the information in *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 16, which gives 1888 as the starting date of his incumbency, is therefore incorrect); he fell seriously ill in 1892 (*AI*, Aug. 11, 1892) and resigned his post the following year to go to San Antonio, Texas. His successor was Aaron Friedman who had just been graduated from Hebrew Union College. Like Hess in St. Paul, he preached in German and English (*AI*, June 6, 1895) and once alluded to the fact that he was the son of “a most orthodox Jew” (*ibid.*). He left Minneapolis in 1900, and the pulpit was apparently vacant for two years. The Shaarai Tov Auxiliary was formed in 1903 (see R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15–16, for details). With the shift of the Jewish population to the farther South (or West) side, Friday night services were abandoned at the Temple in 1916, and moved to the newly acquired Temple house at 24th Street and Emerson Avenue South, the same site where later the new Temple was built (*AJW*, Dec. 22, 1916). From 1921 on, the congregation was called Temple Israel (first notice in *AJW*, March 18, 1921, p. 5).



## *Common Ground*

WHEN JEWS first came to America as a group, in 1654, they obligated themselves to take care of their own indigent. The establishment of facilities for social welfare had always belonged to the basic ingredients of Jewish life. In Minnesota as well, ever since the Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society was organized in 1871, concern for one's neighbor and the exercise of the command of *zedakah* became a major force in shaping communal growth. Here was a meeting ground for people of various backgrounds, and in the course of time it was in this area that the most significant steps were taken toward the unification of the divided community.

In both Minneapolis and St. Paul the need for common effort became apparent after the great waves of immigration had spent themselves. There had been attempts at co-operation before, but evidently the field of joint labor had previously been too narrow and the social experience of one group with the other too limited to have rendered joint welfare work feasible.<sup>1</sup> Now, even though only a comparatively few years had passed, the conditions for unified action had greatly improved.

For one, the community had become very complex. Its needs could no longer be adequately met by individual groups, however earnest and generous. Furthermore, all segments of the community had now created mature welfare organizations which had grown from emergency shelter and relief groups into permanent bodies with a distinct program and policy.

On December 23, 1910, the United Jewish Charities of St. Paul was incorporated. The Jewish Relief Society, the Sisters of Peace,

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, chapter 20, p. 145.

the Bickur Cholim Society and the Hebrew Ladies Aid Society were its affiliates — women's organizations all. Their vision had been enlarged by affiliation with the National Conference of Jewish Charities, and they were ready now to put the ideas of cooperation to work on the local level as well. The credit for this forward-looking move must go to these women. They had much personal experience in welfare work and understood its ramifications sufficiently to engage a professional for the task of unification. Anne M. Palier was their first superintendent. She was followed in 1914 by Helen Grodinsky whose guidance was to continue for more than a generation.<sup>2</sup> She stated the philosophy which the agency would pursue:

The time has passed [Miss Grodinsky wrote] when the giving of material relief was the major part of the work of charitable agencies. Today, relief, while much more adequately provided for those who must be aided, is a subsidiary part of a larger and more constructive program. We now aim to prevent dependency where possible, rather than to relieve dependency, to take measures to prevent delinquency, rather than cure the delinquent.<sup>3</sup>

The work was divided into three departments: family welfare, child welfare, and educational health work. Trained workers were assigned to each.

Ten years after the organization had been founded it had outgrown its name. In 1910, "Charities" was still acceptable; in 1920, it caused resistance on the part of service recipients, and case workers found that there now existed active resentment of the paternalistic name. Henceforth a new name, Jewish Welfare

<sup>2</sup> *AI*, Jan. 1, 1914; *AJYB*, 1907–1908 (5668), p. 100; 1911–1912 (5672), p. 49; 1913–1914 (5674), page 402, which gives the organization date of the "Jewish Charities of St. Paul" as May 19, 1911. At this time the organization was located in the Wilder Building. The earlier date is substantiated also by *AI*, Jan. 12, 1911; the latter is mentioned by Helen Grodinsky in *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 56). Anne Palier had set professional standards from the beginning. She had worked for the United Hebrew Charities of New York for ten years, where she had received her training under Dr. Lee K. Frankel. She had also been trained as a public school teacher and librarian (see *AI*, Jan. 18, 1912). Helen Grodinsky was a woman of perception and social vision. She had come from Omaha, and died there in 1955. For a personal appreciation, see Bernard Marx (catalogued as "Marks") typescript, in MHS, appended to Minutes of HLBS (1937). See also *AJYB*, 1917–1918 (5678), p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 56).

Association, denoted the further maturing of the Jewish community.<sup>4</sup>

Despite its broadened membership base the united welfare front was for some time a gesture rather than a reality in St. Paul. The leadership lay exclusively with the Reform-identified community. This remained the case in the years immediately after the War.<sup>5</sup> The gap between the social groups was still too wide to permit truly co-operative effort, and the upper stratum continued to consider welfare planning its own special province and prerogative. The common ground which the United Charities created was nonetheless important, for as an idea it established a basis for what in the course of time became practical reality as well. It was promise rather than actuality.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to Neighborhood House, which was a direct beneficiary of the group, the Jewish Relief Society received a major share of the joint funds. The Society was an auxiliary of Mount Zion and was guided in its many activities by indefatigable Sophie Wirth whose far-flung plans included even then the establishment of a Jewish hospital. In 1911, the Society organized the Lake Rest Vacation Home at White Bear Lake "for the benefit of overtired mothers and their children." There was opposition to this project. Some felt that providing such vacations was far exceeding the boundaries of traditional "relief."<sup>7</sup> But the new school of social welfare prevailed, and soon over two hundred women and children had their first summer outings.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> The first officers were Ambrose Guiterman, President; Albert N. Rose, Vice President; Charles Straus, Treasurer; Gustavus Loevinger, Secretary. Other early members of the Board were Daniel Aberle, Charles Bechhoefer, Sylvan Hess, Adolph Hirschman, Jacob Dittenhofer, Jacob Westheimer. In 1922, the leaders were Albert N. Rose, Mrs. Jacob Wirth, Bernard Marx, Louis D. Coddon, David Aberle, Ira Baer, Charles Bechhoefer, Rabbi Jacob I. Meyerowitz, Adolph Hirschman, James Neiger, Mrs. Jacob Westheimer, and Hannah D. Libbey who for many years served as Secretary; see Marx, typescript, *op. cit.*; AJW, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 56). Marx also mentions Max and Sally Schwab as early workers. The organization joined the Community Chest shortly after its establishment.

<sup>6</sup> See AJW, Sept. 13, 1918. As an example of concerted action see AI, Dec. 28, 1911, and Nov. 14, 1912.

<sup>7</sup> AI, July 25 and Sept. 29, 1912; see also H. D. Frankel, RA, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> AI, Oct. 30, 1913. In 1914, the property was purchased by the Society; *ibid.*, May 14, 1914. Active workers during these years included Mesdames Sarah Goldman, Joseph Rothschild, Leo Guiterman, Maurice Conhaim, William L. Goodkind, Moses L. Finkelstein, Gustav Krakauer, Ben Wolfe, Charles Bech-



During these years the Jewish Relief Society was, in fact, the social welfare arm of the Temple Guild, and their annual meetings frequently were held jointly. With the war, however, social work had become too complex for an institutional group, and with the increasing strength of the local section of the National Council of Jewish Women, duplication of welfare effort appeared inevitable. The Temple consequently gave up its prerogatives and allowed the Relief Society to be joined to the Council. Thus, after forty-six years of devoted service, it was disbanded as a continuing independent entity. Fifteen years before, Neighborhood House had passed from the nexus of the Temple into the hands of the larger community. Now this process was repeated with the Jewish Relief Society. In this way the principle of broadening the social base of the total community was as effectively served as in the concurrent attempts at joint welfare action.<sup>9</sup>

This was demonstrated dramatically when plans went forward for the establishment of a lower town social center. In a unique co-operative effort, the groups associated with the Jewish Welfare Association, under the leadership of Helen Grodinsky, jointly sponsored the Capitol Community Center (as it was later known). On Sept. 10, 1921, its doors were opened, and the needs it met were so great and its organization so sound that the Community Chest at once accepted it as a beneficiary.<sup>10</sup>

Much of the St. Paul development was mirrored in Minneapolis—or was it now the other way? The younger city had outstripped the older in numbers and in complexity. Still, the parallels were striking, even to the point of time sequence. But with all the parallels which existed, there were also lines of divergence which clearly expressed the distinctive nature of each community.

The Associated Jewish Charities of Minneapolis was incorporated in 1910, in the same year as the United Charities in St. Paul.

---

hoefer, Henry Weiller, Max Schwab, Jacob Dittenhofer, and Jacob Westheimer. Hannah Libbey served as Secretary and Mrs. Julius (Eugenie) Maxman as Treasurer. *AI*, Feb. 9, 1911; Feb. 5, 1914; Feb. 4, 1915 and March 16, 1916. See also *ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1917; *AJYB*, 1907-1908 (5668), pp. 225-226; H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>9</sup> *AI*, Jan. 17, 1918.

<sup>10</sup> See *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 53). First quarters were at Thirteenth and Canada Streets; and the first clubs were organized by Rose (Mrs. Allan) Firestone. Others active were Ben Marx, Isaac Summerfield, Sol Fligelman.

However, through the initiative of B'nai B'rith, the Minneapolis association was from the beginning put on a broader basis. Not merely the women's groups but also local and even some national institutions sent their representatives. The city's Sheltering Home for Transients was given a vote on the board of the association, as were Denver's Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, the Sisters of Peace and the Russian Hebrew Charity Association. Albert I. Gordon called attention to the composition of the Board which reflected the greater strides which Minneapolis had made toward unification:

Though the first president, vice-president and treasurer of the organization were members of the German-Jewish Community, the Secretary was a Russian Jew. Of the five-man executive committee, four were Russian Jews and one was a German Jew.<sup>11</sup>

As in St. Paul, a trained social worker was soon engaged. She was Anna L. Fox, who succeeded the first Superintendent, Charles Juster. In 1915, Julia Felsenthal took her place, and for years thereafter the philosophy of philanthropic work would reflect her vision and energy. Much like Helen Grodinsky she defined the changing ideas about social welfare:

There is the primary plan of relieving the needs of the poor, but the conception of that need has altered greatly. Material relief is the least part of that which is attempted. Service in terms of health, employment, housing, child welfare, and above all, decent family standards are the things we have in mind and they require time, thought and careful attention.

Our organization is now committed, furthermore, to the prevention of delinquency, particularly juvenile delinquency. . . .<sup>12</sup>

Juvenile delinquency was a new word in the vocabulary of

<sup>11</sup> A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 39. First officers were David Simon, President; Isaac Kaufmann, Vice President; Samuel Alexander, Treasurer; Abraham N. Bearman, Secretary; Mayer Isaacs, Assistant Secretary; Charles Juster, Superintendent. See Associated Jewish Charities, Minneapolis, *Annual Report* [=AR], for the year 1910. The Association was organized Feb. 9, 1910. See also subsequent reports for the years 1911-1915 (no reports were issued from 1916 to 1918); *AJYB*, 1910-1911 (5671), p. 260; *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 52).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* Julia Felsenthal was the daughter of Dr. Bernard Felsenthal, first Rabbi of Sinai Congregation in Chicago, and later of Zion Congregation, also in Chicago. She was a woman of culture and wrote with facility. About her home background, see Emma Felsenthal, *Bernard Felsenthal, Teacher in Israel* (Chicago, 1924), and *RA*, Dec. 21, 1921 (Felsenthal Centenary Issue).

Jewish life, but the reality it described called for concerted attention. The problem was larger in Minneapolis, in part because a large percentage of recent immigrants was housed in inferior quarters on the North Side. St. Paul's Jews on the West Side or in lower town lived under somewhat more advantageous conditions. Thirty-four juvenile delinquency cases were recorded in Minneapolis in both 1913 and 1914. Petit larceny and truancy led the list of offenses, but there were also three incorrigible girls. After the war the problem grew to such size that a special full-time case worker had to be engaged.<sup>13</sup> In 1915, Miss Felsenthal listed the chief causes of the social ills which she faced: unemployment, poor housing, undernourishment, illness (especially tuberculosis) and "nervous disorders to which the Jewish poor are peculiarly susceptible."<sup>14</sup> \$20,000 was expended during the first war year, while St. Paul spent \$14,000.<sup>15</sup>

Minneapolis Jews too joined the Community Fund at the end of the War, and they too dropped the now somewhat odious term "Charities." The group was henceforth known as the Jewish Family Welfare Association.<sup>16</sup>

The history of that organization [wrote Gordon] represents the first clear-cut organizational activity carried on by all elements within the Jewish Community under one banner. It demonstrated to the Jewish Community that there were many areas of activity which could be undertaken jointly by all elements despite their religious differences.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> AJW, Jan. 21, 1916 and Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 24). For St. Paul, see AI, Dec. 28, 1911.

<sup>14</sup> AJW, July 30, 1915 (p. 41); AR, 1910, *loc. cit.*, 1911-1912, pp. 13-15 (on tuberculosis). Desertion was an especially thorny problem. "Many times there is collusion between wife and husband," wrote Anna Fox (AR, 1911-1912, p. 16), and in 1915, she declared it to be a nationwide problem (*ibid.*, 1912, pp. 26-27; 1915, p. 4). Requests for transportation money and transient cases also were high on the Association's list.

<sup>15</sup> AJYB, 1917-1918 (5678), p. 366. The Minneapolis top contribution in 1910 had been \$500.00; there were a few who gave \$250.00 and several who contributed \$100.00; this did not rise much until some time thereafter. There was a good deal of suspicion that despite federation people would still have to give to individual institutions (see AR, 1910, p. 21). Also, as Federation work became more professional, there was the inevitable complaint that this had brought about a loss of kindness and human sympathy on the part of the social worker, and less real understanding of human needs. Anna Fox dealt with this as early as three years after the founding of the Association; see AR, 1912, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> This was in 1924. In 1946, the name was again changed to Jewish Family Service Association, another indication of changing concepts. Later the name was once more altered to Jewish Family and Children's Service.

<sup>17</sup> A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 40.



In Duluth, federating the social welfare agencies was not as pressing a task as in the two larger cities. The problems which arose could be handled more or less adequately by individual charitable, fraternal and economic interest groups, of whom there were many.<sup>18</sup> Even though one of the city's best-known Jewish personalities, Edward A. Silberstein, son of pioneer Bernard, had been elected President of the Duluth Associated Charities,<sup>19</sup> the effectuation of a similar idea for the smaller Jewish community had to await the end of the War. It was no coincidence that the formation of the Jewish Social Agencies followed closely upon the organization of a local section of the National Council of Jewish Women, which set an example—if such example was still needed in this already solidified community—that social effort, to be successful, had to proceed on the widest possible basis.<sup>20</sup> The agency was soon firmly established, joined the Community Fund and engaged a professional worker, young Ida B. Davis, who for more than a generation thereafter was to help weld Jewish life into a vital, integrated whole.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> There was a Duluth Hebrew Cooperative Farmers Association (Secretary, H. Stern); *AJYB*, 1912–1913 (5673), p. 253; 1914–1915 (5675) p. 318. Other organizations at this time included the Young Men's Hebrew Association at Third Avenue East and Third Street (Secretary, Abraham Rachlin); *ibid.*, 1912–1913 (5673), p. 253; 1913–1914 (5674), p. 402. Young women's groups were the Deborah Society (Secretary, Fannie Karon) and Magbiah (Secretary, Eva Zalk); *ibid.* The Workmen's Circle was also engaged in social activities. Branch No. 353 was founded in 1911 by Isaac Jaffe, Jacob Lussan and Nathan Schneider (personal communication, 1955, by Newton S. Friedman, Duluth). On the charitable group affiliated with the synagogues and on the expanding social work of the Talmud Torah, see *supra*, chapter 27, p. 207.

<sup>19</sup> *AJW*, Nov. 10, 1916.

<sup>20</sup> The section was founded in November, 1920. Etta (Mrs. Hyman Y.) Josephs, whose husband had just presided over a most successful all-community war relief drive, was the group's first President; Mrs. Julius S. Siegel, its first Secretary (private communication, 1955, from Mrs. Josephs).

For a recapitulation of social events, which give some insight into the structure of the upper class of Duluth's Jewish population, see, for example, *AI*, Aug. 6, 1914; Feb. 4, 1915.

<sup>21</sup> In 1956 Ida Davis, who had been serving as Executive Director of the Duluth Jewish Federation and Community Council, resigned her post because of ill health.

## *The Young and The Old*

THE BROADENING of the bases of organizational membership testified to the growing maturity of Jewish life in an important area. There was a special type of organization which by its very nature aided the unification process. This was the Jewish social *institution*, as distinguished from the ordinary social *organization*. All organizations had programs and traditions of membership and personal leadership. But where their activities centered around distinct institutions, where their program was more closely defined by a building and by the purposes to which it was dedicated, the needs of the people who were served had an immediate influence on the people who were serving them. The social institutions which the Jews built in the prewar area became focal points of communal care and interest and thereby served the function of communal solidification.

Neighborhood House in St. Paul was the first of these institutions, but while it served a most significant part of the Jewish population, it had at an early stage ceased to be a specifically Jewish institution in point of leadership.<sup>1</sup>

The day nursery idea had swept the country at the turn of the century. Children could be cared for during the day while the mothers were at work assisting the family in earning a living. The establishment of specifically Jewish day nurseries was not long in coming. The St. Paul Jewish Day Nursery was hailed with great hopes, but, like in Minneapolis, it was found that Jewish mothers would not readily consent to leave their children in someone else's care. The Minneapolis project failed, and the St. Paul nursery was taken over by Neighborhood House where it continued on a

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, chapter 21, p. 154.

nondenominational basis. During its brief existence, however, it served as a meeting ground for workers of diverse backgrounds.<sup>2</sup>

It was in the nature of the St. Paul Hebrew Institute and Sheltering Home<sup>3</sup> that its guidance, like its foundations, were to remain within the purview of West Side Jewry; for while the care of transients continued as an important function—during the War between fifteen and fifty people were housed and fed each month<sup>4</sup>—the main emphasis of the institution was from the beginning on the education of the children. The Institute was the area's Talmud Torah. Guided by Rabbi Herman Simon it was housed in what could then be rightly considered a splendid building. However, because the support for it was not community-wide, its leadership and policies remained strictly traditional and thereby highlighted a phase of communal development fundamentally different from Minneapolis. Whereas there the Talmud Torah had all-city backing and therefore struck educational middle ground, the Hebrew Institute on St. Paul's West Side as well as the Capitol City Hebrew School in lower town were parochial in both support and direction. The idea of the community school grew out of another institution, the Talmud Torah of Conservative Temple of Aaron. In the years to follow no real educational unification of the community could be achieved because the separateness of origin hardened into an almost unbridgeable separation of ideology and leadership tradition.

The one major institution which at the earliest time commanded the resources of the total Jewish population was the Home for the Aged.

Its origins went back to an old Charity Loan Society which had been founded as early as 1890.<sup>5</sup> Some years thereafter the

<sup>2</sup> For Minneapolis, see *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 22); for St. Paul, H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 49–50. The leading women were Mesdames Benjamin L. Goodkind, I. Edgar Rose, Isaac Ginsberg, and Aaron Mark; Mrs. Meyer Rosenholtz was Treasurer, and Hannah Libbey, Secretary. Quarters were at 147 State Street. For a while an employment bureau was operated in connection with the institution. All four women's organizations participated in the venture (*AI*, July 18 and Oct. 10, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, chapter 24, p. 175, and chapter 27, p. 203. Founders of the "Sheltering Home" part of the institution were Mesdames Max Cohen, Rosa Weinstein, Herman Simon and Samuel Roisner (see *AI*, Aug. 17, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 14, 1917.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, chapter 20, p. 144, note 17; Jewish Home for the Aged, *First Annual Report*, 1908–1909, in Frankel Papers, MHS, box 17, file 2.



purposes of the society were broadened and a new name reflected added purposes: The Charity Loan Society And Old Women's Home.<sup>6</sup> In 1905, Mary Burton, then President of the Sisters of Peace Benevolent Society,<sup>7</sup> became interested in the project. She was a woman of great organizational ability and as a descendent of the early East European immigrants represented status in the traditional community. She assumed the leadership of the society and soon turned its direction completely toward the realization of a home for the aged.<sup>8</sup> An old mansion from the Banning estate was bought, just outside the business district, at 75 Wilkin Street, for fifteen thousand dollars. It was apparent that the institution could not be operated as a woman's project only, and Mary Burton succeeded in persuading Joseph Levy — soon to be founder of a Conservative synagogue — to assume the leadership of the enlarged project.<sup>9</sup> On June 14, 1908, the home was opened with eight admissions. There was no question that this was meant for aged people, for a Mrs. Greenblat was admitted at the age of 106, and Marcus Shushansky claimed to be 101 years old. There were facilities for thirty persons. On the cover of its first annual report the home listed itself as "Orthodox" and advertised expressly:

## WANTED

A competent married couple, without children, Orthodox, to manage a Jewish Home for Aged People, at St. Paul, Minnesota.<sup>10</sup>

The home had strictly traditional management and its appeal was directed exclusively to the East European portion of the population. The German group considered the sending of its aged to any

<sup>6</sup> Jewish Home for the Aged, *First Annual Report*, loc. cit. This was in 1903; Hannah Abromovich was President; Mrs. Max Lavansky, Vice-President.

<sup>7</sup> In 1907, Mrs. David Greenberg was Vice-President and Mrs. Lewis Paper, Treasurer of that society; H. D. Frankel, *RA*, loc. cit., p. 49; see also *AJYB*, 1907-1908 (5668), pp. 224-226.

<sup>8</sup> The official founding date of the new organization was Aug. 1, 1906. A year later there were 220 members. For details see *AJYB*, 1907-1908 (5668), pp. 225-226.

<sup>9</sup> The Board now consisted of Joseph Levy, President; Mary Burton, Vice President; Louis F. Orenstein, Treasurer; Julius A. Brooks, Secretary. Directors: Moses L. Finkelstein, Louis Pavian, Harry Harris, Marcus Shapiro, Benjamin Golling and Max Lavansky (see *AI*, June 18, 1908). Of these, Benjamin Golling (later a charter member of the St. Paul Rotary Club) was the only one to survive in 1958.

<sup>10</sup> *AI*, Nov. 10, 1910.

institution socially inadmissible. But despite this, the second year of the home saw a decisive broadening of leadership. The women organized into a special auxiliary and the men took over the major policy-making positions. They invited Rabbis Deinard and Rypins to address the group when the mortgage was burned at the first anniversary celebration. Their very presence indicated the shift in personnel that was taking place. Max Schwab, Treasurer of Mount Zion, now served in a similar capacity at the home.<sup>11</sup>

In the meantime, efforts toward a similar institution had gone forward in Minneapolis. A Jewish Home for the Aged had been opened in 1908, but it could not begin to serve the needs which were now emerging, and the creation of a new or greatly enlarged institution was being planned. Under the leadership of Mrs. Isaac J. Cohen and Mrs. Samuel Herscovitz a women's group had made considerable progress.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, St. Paul's home found itself in need of expansion. In a unique inter-city and inter-group meeting of one hundred Twin Cities leaders a joint new institution was planned and property purchased in the Midway district.<sup>13</sup> In this enterprise both communities demonstrated that another stage of maturity was within reach. Quite beside the beneficent effects a new home had for the aged, it performed a function in community building which had a far-reaching importance of its own. When the doors to the spacious new edifice were opened in 1923, the Jewish Home for the Aged of the Northwest, as it was now called, had become a cornerstone in the unified community structure which was then arising. In the leadership of Joseph Levy and Joseph Schanfeld vigorous

<sup>11</sup> Jewish Home for the Aged, *First Annual Report*, *loc. cit.* The Board now consisted of Joseph Levy, President; Albert I. Shapira, Vice President; Max Schwab, Recording and Financial Secretary; Louis F. Orenstein, Treasurer. Trustees: Max Lavansky, Nathan Blumenthal, Rabbi Jacob Aronsohn, Ephraim Eli Skorish, Marcus Shapiro, Dr. Joseph H. Abramovich, Harry Harris, and Moses L. Finkelstein. See also *AI*, June 24, 1909 and April 17, 1913.

<sup>12</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 24, 1915; Sept. 29, 1916. In 1916, the Minneapolis Moshav Z'kanim [*moshab zekenim*], as the Society was called, had 650 members (*AJYB*, 1908-1909 (5669), p. 126). The home was dedicated June 21, 1908. It had been sparked by a ladies auxiliary (originally, the Independent Ladies Bikur Cholem) [*sic!*] and was led by Mesdames Isaac J. Cohen, Samuel Herscovitz, Harris Rabinowitz, Hiram Brooks, and Ida Kolontersky (*AJW*, Sept. 24, 1915).

<sup>13</sup> *AJW*, Oct. 20, 1916; *AI*, Nov. 2, 1916.

Jewish forces which had emerged were represented significantly. They foreshadowed changing alignments and new directions.<sup>14</sup>

The considerable advance which Minneapolis had made in this respect was apparent in the now rapid multiplication of its community institutions. The Talmud Torah had added a social service department with a professional staff. Shortly thereafter, this expanding activity merged with the Young Men's and the Young Women's Hebrew Associations and eventually the Social Service department moved into its own quarters, the purchase of which was made possible by a bequest of Emanuel Cohen.<sup>15</sup> A South Side Neighborhood House, organized after the St. Paul model, was supported through the National Council and received wide support and acceptance.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, a new Jewish Sheltering Home for Children found itself at first in a precarious situation precisely because its founders, with all their earnestness and enthusiasm, failed to read the signs of the times. No longer could such an institution which was designed to serve more than specific ideological interests be supported only by a segment of the Jewish population. This had been possible back in 1898, but in 1918 a more broadly based approach had become essential for success. The Sheltering Home's difficult early existence was directly traceable to its now anachronistic process of formation.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In 1916, the St. Paul group had achieved the broadest possible leadership. Joseph Levy was President; Ben Marx, Vice President; Herman J. Butwinick, Secretary; Max Schwab, Financial Secretary; Benjamin M. Hirschman, Treasurer; Sol Cohen, Director of Finance. *AJW*, Sept. 1, 1916; Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 42); Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 79); *Shabbosdige Post* [=SP] (Minneapolis), Oct. 19, 1923, which emphasizes the role played by Mesdames Samuel A. Grossman, Bessie Mark, Hannah Abromovich, Mary Burton and Max Lavansky. Louis Silverstein was chairman of the Dedication Committee.

<sup>15</sup> The quarters were at 909 Elwood Avenue. See the article by Jacob Mirviss, Executive Director of the Emanuel Cohen Center, in *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937 (pp. 31 ff.); also *ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1919.

<sup>16</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 74).

<sup>17</sup> See the critique by Rabbi C. David Matt in *AJW*, Sept. 26, 1919. The Home was founded in 1918, under the leadership of Rabbi Louis Seltzer of Sharei Zedeck, who was assisted by Benjamin Lifschitz, Joseph Bassin, Abraham Shapiro and Tessie Seltzer. Its organization date was Jan. 27, 1919, and in 1922, Mrs. Adolph Farbstein was superintendent of the institution, then located at 1704 Tenth Avenue North. See *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 53). About its further history, see *ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1937, p. 85. In later years the name of the institution was changed to Oak Park Home for Jewish Children, with broad communal support.



## *Sons Of The Covenant*

IN THE WINTER of 1921, Hiram D. Frankel—lawyer, religious and civic worker, book reviewer, operatic entrepreneur and B'nai B'rith leader *par excellence*—addressed a letter to the President of the District Grand Lodge.\* The golden anniversary of St. Paul's B'nai B'rith was about to be celebrated and leading figures of the Order were to be in attendance. Henry Monsky and Eugene Mannheimer would be there, and Abraham B. Seelenfreund would come from Chicago. They were to honor Levi Lovenstein, only surviving charter member, and Max Frankel, a member of the first class of initiates. The letter reviewed the early history of the lodge and its relations with Minneapolis' Jewry.

Although there were no streetcar connections between St. Paul and Minneapolis in the early days, the members from Minneapolis, some ten or twelve in number, would pack into an old cutter or come over on a bobsled and drive the ten miles in cold sleet and snow to attend meetings.<sup>1</sup>

\* A good deal of the information in this chapter, and also in chapters 33, 34 and 37, *infra*, pp. 242 ff., was culled from the Frankel Papers. Frankel preserved a large mass of personal correspondence (both as writer and recipient), and he also filed reports, circulars, posters and other material which was of interest to him in his many activities. These materials have to be approached with critical discretion, especially where Frankel himself was the writer or reporter. For Frankel was given to apologetics and occasionally to prideful boasting which has to be discounted. There is little reason, however, to call into question the accuracy of the underlying facts on which most of his papers are based.

<sup>1</sup> Letter, dated Feb. 10, 1921, addressed to Rabbi Eugene Mannheimer; Frankel Papers, MHS, box 5, file 5. About the early history of the lodge, see *supra*, chapter 8, p. 58; also AI, Dec. 24, 1875, and July 1, 1887; AJW, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 45), H. D. Frankel, RA, *loc. cit.*, p. 47; *Menorah Monthly*, vol. X (1891), p. 12. By 1921, Simon Rosenfels, Sylvan Hess and Hiram D. Frankel had been Presidents of the Grand Lodge, and Gustavus Loevinger was slated for the post in another few years. Frankel later became Executive Secretary of the District Grand Lodge and moved to Chicago. In 1922, he was also President of Mount Zion Temple.

Frankel told of the work the lodge had done over the years, of the clubhouse the members had maintained, and of their early plans for a community center.<sup>2</sup> He claimed that they had put out of business

a lot of political clubs using the word Hebrew or Jewish. . . . We got rid of half a dozen scheming politicians who were trying to pose as carrying the Jewish vote around in their pockets.<sup>3</sup>

There were 350 members now; another 125 were expected to join. The lodge had an open meeting each month which, Frankel averred, was attended by "anywhere from 400 to 600 or more people with fine programs and fine speakers." This was doubtlessly a gross exaggeration. Not everyone counted heads with the same exuberant enthusiasm as Frankel did. In fact, that same year a Rabbi complained that "barely 3% of the membership attend business meetings, hardly 10 or 12% the monthly meetings."<sup>4</sup> But Frankel was nonetheless justified in extolling the merits of the Order. For in St. Paul, as in Duluth and Minneapolis, it had served as the first medium of communal unification and had thereby made its greatest contribution to Jewish life.

Back in 1900, the lodge which for a generation had been moderately active was experiencing a feeling of general apathy. It had no specific community program, and the social functions it had once helped to fulfill were now met in other ways. The group from which the members were drawn was relatively small: it was the small upper layer of the German Jews. The East European Jewish community was organized in lodges of its own, especially in B'rith Abraham which numerically was the strongest lodge in the state, as it was in the country.<sup>5</sup>

Nonetheless, B'nai B'rith was the order of tradition and prestige. The leaders of the "second" community desired membership in it, but either were not accepted or did not apply because they

<sup>2</sup> The Calmenson family had greatly stimulated interest in such a center by a gift of \$15,000.00. Frankel papers, *loc. cit.*, and *infra*, chapter 40, p. 294, note 9.

<sup>3</sup> Frankel Papers, *loc. cit.* This was in part a reference to the old "Hebrew Democratic" and "Hebrew Republican" clubs; see *AI*, April 12, 1894, and *infra*, chapter 35, p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> Rabbi Jacob Meyerowitz of Mount Zion, in *B'nai B'rith Bulletin*, (Lodge No. 157), Dec. 1921.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, chapter 24, p. 176, note 14.

feared that they might not be welcome. In St. Paul this led to the formation of a new Lodge, No. 396, and, since the saintly city was the capital of the state, the members called it Shechem, the Hebrew name of Samaria, ancient capital of Israel.<sup>6</sup>

This move for a separate B'nai B'rith lodge appeared at first to fit the accepted pattern, a "separate but equal" policy then in vogue in the city. All institutional life, from synagogue to charity, was organized on a parallel basis, and in some cases there were many such parallels in the same area of interest. But there were sons of the old guard who were dissatisfied with this divisive approach. Shortly after 1900, the leadership of the lodge passed into their hands. At once the doors to the organization were opened wide, and with the acceptance *en bloc* of close to one hundred members of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, all of them belonging to the "second" community, the complexion of the lodge was changed decisively.<sup>7</sup> This had a dual effect: the oppositional Shechem Lodge disappeared, since its original purpose was now achieved, and Benjamin Calmenson, a representative of the new members, was chosen President of Lodge No. 157. His election was a wise choice. Not only was he a capable leader (whose early death would be widely mourned), but he was also the ideal person to give status to the East European Jewish group, for his people had come shortly after the Civil War and were by now of the "old families" in town.<sup>8</sup> Ten years later, when the First World War came upon the country, B'nai B'rith had achieved the distinction of being a decisive pathbreaker for Jewish unification in Minnesota. However, there was even here a differential development in the three main cities.

In Duluth and Minneapolis, leadership in the lodges was shared by all sections of the community, while in St. Paul, the least advanced in communal integration, a particularly interesting development had taken place: the "second" community had taken over all leadership on the lodge level, causing the older

<sup>6</sup> *AJYB*, 1900-1901 (5661), p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Personal recollections of Gustavus Loevinger (told to the author in 1955). In *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 45), credit for the change in direction is given to Max, Michael, Louis R. and Hiram D. Frankel, Louis Goodkind, Sylvan Hess, Benjamin Hirschman and Benjamin Calmenson.

<sup>8</sup> See *supra*, chapter 13, page 90.



group to retreat into inactivity or to confine itself largely to upper echelon participation, on the district and national level.<sup>9</sup>

The path of unity was not without its obstacles. Much had yet to be learned in the difficult art of bringing men of different traditions into harmonious co-operation. There were, for instance, religious problems. The Order prescribed prayer as part of its ritual, and the bareheadedness of the Reform Jew was still an inexplicable *goyishkeit* [Gentile manner] in the eyes of the average traditionalist. On the other hand, the Reform Jew still found the idea of covering his head, even in respect to others, to be fraught with emotional problems. When Frankel was visiting the lodge in Grand Forks he was impressed with the solution adopted there. The members had devised a special skull cap with a Menorah embroidered upon it. To the Orthodox Jew this was of course sufficient for purposes of prayer, and for the Reformer this "Menorah cap" was lodge rite rather than synagogue ritual. "Introduction of this cap in Lodge 157," Frankel opined, "would overcome some opposition we now have."<sup>10</sup> Because of questions such as these there was frequent friction between officials of the Order and rabbis of various ideological groupings, but a few

<sup>9</sup> As an example, the year 1916 saw the following in positions of leadership:

DULUTH: Abraham B. Kapplin, President; Edward A. Stilberstein, Vice President; Samuel B. Copilowich, Treasurer; Directors: Dr. Samuel Gross, Max Albenberg, Gustav A. Klein, Dr. Maurice Leffkovits, Charles I. Oreckovsky, Louis Kramer; see *AJW*, Dec. 4, 1916. Kapplin (born 1891 in Minneapolis) was active in many other Jewish and civic enterprises. A member of the editorial staff of the *Duluth Herald* from 1911 to 1931, he later became Managing Editor of the *Duluth News-Tribune*. During the 1920's he became the first President of the new Minnesota-Wisconsin Council of B'nai B'rith; was President of Temple Emanuel in Duluth from 1929 to 1938. He later moved to Washington, D. C., and, until his retirement in 1956, was Executive Director of the B'nai B'rith Commission on Citizenship and Civic Affairs (personal communication from Kapplin to the author, 1957).

ST. PAUL: Maurice Stoffer, President; Dr. Samuel N. Mogilner, Isadore G. Goldburg, Jesse Calmenson, Carl Calvin, Ira Kamman, Samuel Grosby (see *AJW*, Jan. 14, 1916).

MINNEAPOLIS: Rabbi C. David Matt, President; Louis Schwartz, George and William Monasch, Maurice Engler, Harry Ravicz, Alex Kanter, Isaac and Charles Weil, J. M. Davis, David Berman, Dr. Samuel N. Deinard, Joseph Schanfeld, Dr. Thomas Ziskin (see *AJW*, Jan. 7, 1916). Minneapolis, incidentally, had had a Zionist center, called Zion Hall, since 1908 (*AJYB*, 1908-1909 [5669], p. 126).

<sup>10</sup> Letter to Abraham B. Seelenfreund, Jan. 11, 1915 (Frankel Papers, box 36, file S).

years of experience showed that there were ways to satisfy all. "With one single exception, there has been no antagonism this year between the Rabbinate and the Order," the President could report when the District Grand Lodge met in St. Paul after the War.<sup>11</sup>

Even the locale of B'nai B'rith activities had significance. Traditionally, business meetings in St. Paul were held at Mount Zion and open meetings at the Royal Arcanum Hall, a downtown place which was popular for all large gatherings and which was also the customary room rented by the Zionist groups. As time went on, however, the Temple of Aaron, too, became the scene of lodge activities.<sup>12</sup> First thought was also given to an all-city B'nai B'rith Sabbath, and English addresses were prepared for Sons of Jacob, Temple of Aaron and Mount Zion, and Yiddish talks for the other synagogues.<sup>13</sup> The lodge sponsored a city-wide memorial service for Solomon Schechter, leading figure of American Conservatism. Memorial addresses at this meeting, which was held at the Temple of Aaron, were delivered by Conservative Rabbis Alfred H. Kahn and C. David Matt, by Reformer Isaac L. Rypins, and Orthodox leaders Joseph Hurvitz and Herman Simon. It was a gathering which was as moving as it was communally important.<sup>14</sup> In twenty years the lodge, and with it the community, had come a long way.

Around the state the composition of the smaller Jewish communities made it unnecessary for B'nai B'rith to assume this function of social, cultural and religious mediation. But here too it fulfilled a very important role in the process of unification. For through it, more than through any other means, contact with Jewish life in the larger centers was maintained for even the smallest settlement. Small synagogues around the state may have had guest preachers from time to time, and Zionist groups had travelling celebrities who occasionally touched the outposts, but

<sup>11</sup> July 2-8, 1919; address by Hiram D. Frankel (Frankel Papers, box 6, file 5). It was at this meeting that the new building of the Cleveland Orphan Asylum was approved by the Lodge (AI, July 17, 1919).

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the initiation meeting Nov. 14, 1921, at which David Ruvelson was installed (Frankel Papers, box 4, file 9; AI, Jan. 20, 1921).

<sup>13</sup> Hiram D. Frankel to A. B. Seelenfreund, Jan. 24, 1921 (Frankel Papers, box 5, file 7).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, box 5, file 2; Milton P. Firestone presided over the meeting.

only B'nai B'rith, through its Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth lodges, constantly sent representative personalities to the whole area. They addressed lodges, they assisted in the solving of communal problems, they organized small Jewish groups into new lodges, and where this was not possible they prevailed on Jews from small towns to band together in regional lodges. Thus, since Hibbing's Jews were too few to have a lodge of their own, they joined with Chisholm in a common effort. Conversely, when Eveleth was ready for its own organization, the area's Mesabi Lodge gave up a portion of its own members. The charter event in Eveleth was occasion for "two hundred Iron Range Israelites" to gather in a common celebration and hear addresses by Duluth's Charles Oreckovsky and St. Paul's Gustavus Loevinger.<sup>15</sup>

The Order multiplied activities and promoted popular cultural programs. It had Intellectual Advancement Committees; it created inter-Jewish arbitration courts; it gave attention to the new and pressing problems of anti-Semitism; it heard speakers on a variety of subjects.

"What is the solution of the Jewish Problem in America?" the Minneapolis lodge wanted to know and invited members of the St. Paul lodge to clarify the issues. Abraham M. Calmenson spoke on "The Synagogue," Doctor Myron Sherper on "Zionism," Rabbi Isaac Rypins on "The Temple," Sylvan Hess on "Fraternalism," Milton P. Firestone on "Evolution," and Gustavus Loevinger on "Democracy." That same year members heard one philosopher discuss "Human Nature and Business," and another, "Philosophy and its Relation to Every Day Life." A political scientist spoke on "Germany and the War." The lodge heard a talk on the Cleveland Orphan Asylum and also invited the principal of the Talmud Torah to given an illustrated lecture on the *Hanukkah* Festival.

<sup>15</sup> Report by Frankel to the District Grand Lodge, March 3, 1921 (Frankel Papers, box 5, file 7). Another typical example of gathering Jews in small towns into one lodge was Ashland, Wisconsin, which geographically lies within the Twin Cities and Duluth culture radius. The lodge there drew from Ironwood, Michigan, and from the Wisconsin towns of Hurley, Phillips, Park Falls, Butternut, Glidden and Washburn; see letter by Joseph I. Levy of Ashland, dated Aug. 16, 1921 (*ibid.*, box 4, file 6). For other activities in the Iron Range area see "Reports to the Grand Lodge" for these years (for example, for 1916, Frankel Papers, box 5, file 2). Mesabi Lodge was the fourth Minnesota lodge, having been established in 1910 (*ibid.*, box 4, file 6, and B'nai B'rith Lodge Book, vol. IV [in MHS]).



To be sure, this was surface education, without deeper roots, but apparently this was the level on which larger groups responded to any degree. If B'nai B'rith did not raise the cultural standards of its membership significantly, the Order became, at any rate, the training ground for many young people who here learned to appreciate the potential of an integrated Jewish community.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The program referred to was for the 1915 season of Lodge No. 271 (see Frankel Papers, box 5, file 2). The material on the development of B'nai B'rith in this era is very large because Hiram D. Frankel, a prime mover of the Order in Minnesota and in the entire district, kept meticulous records and letters files, which cover almost twenty years. The majority of the voluminous files dealing with B'nai B'rith will be found in Frankel Papers, boxes 4-8, and 11, and are scattered among his other papers. See also Frankel's articles in *RA*, Nov. 16, 1907 (pp. 45 ff.); *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922, and Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 79). Beginning with Dec. 13, 1920, Lodge No. 157 published a *B'nai B'rith Bulletin*, whose first number gives an insight into its typical activities. A report is made of its annual banquet. Gustavus Loevinger was Master of Ceremonies; Isadore G. Goldbarg presided; Henry Monsky of Omaha (later President of the Supreme Lodge) and District President Eugene Mannheimer of Des Moines addressed the gathering which was attended by 240 people. The B'nai B'rith Orchestra with "Brown Brothers, Nahinsky and Golberg" played; Nettie Greenberg (later Mrs. Irwin A. Epstein) gave a piano recital, and Louis Melamed rendered a vocal solo.

The influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 also shows up in these records. At its height all lodge meetings were "forbidden" in North and South Dakota, Michigan, Nebraska and Iowa (Hiram D. Frankel to Charles Oreckovsky, Oct. 5, 1918, Frankel Papers, box 8, file 3).

## *Love of Zion*

THE SECOND great impetus toward co-operative Jewish endeavor came from the Zionist movement. With the outbreak of the World War the central importance of Palestine as the strategic bridge to the Turkish Empire became a matter of intense military concern. Consequently, the interest of political Zionism shifted away from Germany and concentrated on Great Britain which, with an army poised in Egypt, was readying itself to invade the Holy Land. Jew and Christian, Zionist and non-Zionist alike followed these moves with great interest. Jews especially felt involved, for suddenly they, as a people, were drawn into the center of the great arena where the fate of the world was decided.<sup>1</sup>

The Zionist organizations which had borne the burden of propagandizing, educating and fund raising in the early lean years now expanded quickly. The worsening situation of the Jews who were caught between the German and Russian armies lent emphasis to the urgency of the Zionist program. Even the opposition to Zionism which was traditional with a large part of the German group began to change. In 1913, Henrietta Szold had come to town and the Rabbi had requested the use of the Reform Temple. He was turned down.

It is not consistent with the best interest of the congregation that the request be granted, it being a lecture in favor of Zionism.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Simon Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. X, pp. 509 ff.; Henrietta Szold, "Recent Jewish Progress in Palestine," *AJYB*, 1915-1916 (5676), pp. 139 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *MZM*, vol. V, Oct. 5, 1913. Miss Szold was to give a lecture on "The New Palestine" under the auspices of the Lady Zionists, an organization founded May 17, 1903, as an auxiliary to the Zionist Club. Mayme Mark (later Mrs. Samuel J. Goldberg) was founding President; two days after the lecture the Lady Zionists affiliated with Hadassah, see *AJW*, Sept. 10, 1915; *AI*, Oct. 30, 1913. Minneapolis women, led by Lilli Mikolas, formed a Hadassah group in 1918

But after the Balfour Declaration had promised Palestine as a homeland to the Jews, a prominent member of the German community could write: "Everybody in St. Paul is now a Zionist."<sup>3</sup> This was, of course, a rhetorical phrase, but it accurately depicted a mood of general pro-Zionism which briefly ruled the day.

The Zionist movement had a natural emotional appeal for the East European Jews. They joined it in its many cultural, political or socially oriented forms, from Labor Zionist groups to Young Judean clubs, from Tikwath Zion Gate in St. Paul to Kodivrim in Duluth, from Mizrachi's Orthodox Zionists to the General Zionist Clubs. All were exposed to a vigorous program of Jewish indoctrination, a revival of Hebrew and a rising interest in Jewish culture in general. The influence of men like Deinard and Lefkovits whose prestige was large, emphasized a new era of common Jewish endeavor, for the two Reform rabbis did not hesitate to propound their views most insistently in public. Deinard's flaming editorials in the widely-read *American Jewish World* were above all a call for Jewish peoplehood. Lefkovits travelled throughout the state in support of the Zionist idea. These efforts were not without result. Even smaller communities, like Chisholm, established Zionist chapters, and in a city like Duluth, whose total Jewish integration had already made great strides, the leadership of a new overall Zionist Association reflected the broad base upon which the movement now stood.<sup>4</sup> In St. Paul, on

---

and joined the national organization in 1921. Anna (Mrs. Louis B.) Schwartz was the first President.

<sup>3</sup> Gustavus Loevinger, in *AJW*, Sept. 26, 1919 (p. 10). However, when during the winter of 1917-1918 Hannah G. Solomon, national President of the Council of Jewish Women, came to Minnesota and addressed both Twin Cities sections on the outstanding events of 1917, she failed to mention the Balfour Declaration. A question directed to her from the floor about the reason for this omission caused her acute embarrassment (recollection of Mrs. Moses Barron, told to the author, Dec., 1955). The meeting referred to is mentioned in *AI*, Jan. 17, 1918.

<sup>4</sup> *AJYB*, 1908-1909 (5669), p. 23. A Zionist Society, led by Jacob Halpern, was already in existence before the turn of the century (*ibid.*, 1899-1900 [5660], p. 38). The enlarged successor group was organized by Charles Cowen, at Temple Emanuel. The Association heard Julia Felsenthal (her father, Bernard, had been a Vice-President of the Federation of American Zionists in 1899) as its first speaker, on May 11, 1917. Abraham B. Kapplin, just finished with his term as head of the B'nai B'rith Lodge, became President; Mrs. Saul Goldberg, Vice President; Samuel Nides, Secretary; Mortimer W. Bondy, Treasurer. Directors: Rabbi Maurice Lefkovits, Samuel B. Copilowich, Jeannette Gomberg. See *AJW*,



the other hand, the only Minnesota community with rabbinic opposition to Zionism, the movement had divisive side-effects, and total community support for it was for many years to be weaker here than anywhere else in the state.<sup>5</sup>

Zionism in Minnesota received additional impetus after a series of memorable visits. Shmaryahu Levin, great orator and publicist, was the first to come, in 1916. B'nai B'rith made community history by giving up its scheduled meeting and joining with the Zionists. Prof. Horace Kallen, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mary Antin, and Benzion Mossinson of Palestine's Herzliah Gymnasium followed Levin—all in the span of a few months. That same year the national convention of the Knights of Zion was held in St. Paul, which brought additional luminaries to the state. A State League of Zionist Societies was founded, and men from the Twin Cities enrolled in the Jewish Legion of the British Army.<sup>6</sup>

The growing strength of the Zionist movement found reflection in unexpected political quarters. Jacob de Haas tells of an incident during a rally in Minneapolis in the fall of 1917, when labor leaders tried to corral public sentiment for greater support of the war effort. The rally appeared to be headed for certain failure,

---

April 27, 1917. The "Kodivrim" (a combination of *Kodimah*, forward, and *Ivrin*, Hebrews) was founded in 1913 as the cultural Zionist group (recollection of Mr. Louis Gordon, a co-founder, told to the author in 1955, St. Paul). For 1919, see *AJW*, Sept. 26, 1919.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the composition of the Zionist Club leadership in St. Paul in 1915–1916: Abe Calmenson, President; Joseph Krawetz, Vice-President; Ike Gelb, Secretary; Dr. Alex Goloven, Treasurer. Directors: Rabbi Alfred H. Kahn, Harry Rosenthal and Dr. Samuel N. Mogilner. Others active were Dr. Moses Barron, Dr. Myron Sherper and Simon D. Sloan. There were no representatives of the "German" group (see *AJW*, Sept. 10, 1915 and Dec. 29, 1916). Forty years later, Joseph Krawetz and Harry Rosenthal were still active in Zionist and other Jewish affairs.

That same year, Minneapolis showed a much broader basis. Its Ohavei Zion Gate had Rabbi Samuel N. Deinard, Julia Felsenthal and Dr. George Gordon in the leadership, along with Dr. Nathan N. Cohen, Louis Feigelman, David Berman, Rabbi C. David Matt, Dr. Thomas Ziskin, Alex Kanter and Israel Kreiner (see *AJW*, Nov. 17, 1916).

Even in 1920 active leadership in St. Paul had not expanded into the German group. See the list found on a meeting announcement in Frankel Papers, box 5, file 7. In addition to some of those listed above it mentions Jesse and Bertha Calmenson, Norma Myers, Rabbi Philip Kleinman, Sol Fligelman, Moses Skorish, Hershel Horwitz, Louis Gordon, Anna Schwartz, Morris B. Bleher and Gertrude Weiss.

<sup>6</sup> *AJW*, Jan. 21, March 17, April 21, May 12, May 26, and Nov. 17, 1916. *AI*, Dec. 14, 1916 and Jan. 11, 1917. *AJYB*, 1917–1918 (5778), p. 359.

until Samuel Gompers appealed to Labor Zionists to bring their influence to bear on a complex situation. The Zionists, Gompers recalled, responded with dispatch, and he ascribed the success of the rally to their ready group discipline and organization.<sup>7</sup>

The general public too was taking note of Zionism. There was the genuine support which came from the White House and this was a powerful factor in drawing political as well as Christian religious interests to the side of a Jewish homeland. Even the non-Zionist *American Israelite* was impressed and prominently reprinted an appealing editorial which the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* had published. It was entitled "The Last Crusade" and read:

The probable release of Palestine from Turkish rule at the end of this war, a release almost evident whichever of the enemies shall win, makes the disposition of Palestine a discussive matter.

While no doubt certain Christians will object to surrendering the Holy Land to the descendants of those who lived in that Land at its Holy moment, the majority of the world would probably prefer to see the restoration of Palestine to the Jews. The Land has been under infidel rule for so long that even the most evangelical would be unable to believe the ignominy greater if the country should be restored to Judaism. And there is a certain historic justice which must appeal to any one in re-establishing the Jews in Palestine. It will give the country an appearance much closer to what it was nineteen centuries ago. And there would be no hostility, on the part of those restored, to the maintenance of the sacred Christian shrines in such keeping as they have not been since the days of Soloman. [*sic!*]

There will be a certain propriety in such restoration. For at its best, although Palestine can be made a fruitful country, it will remain in a way a museum country, and although the waste places be made to blossom as the rose, the increasing tourist trade would be the most profitable. It is possible to make Palestine over, in people and dwellings and general atmosphere, into what it was in the first days when it became a Holy Land. Then the Christian peoples of the world would visit it as the Mohammedans visit Mecca. Then would this war, which is already called a crusade, become indeed the final Crusade in Christendom.<sup>8</sup>

Much publicity was given to Einstein's arrival in the United

<sup>7</sup> Jacob de Haas, *Louis Dembitz Brandeis* (New York, 1924), pp. 84-85.

<sup>8</sup> *AI*, Feb. 11, 1915, quoting *SPPP*. On Wilson's endorsement of Zionism, see *AJW*, Sept. 20, 1918.

States, and his picture in the newspaper was accompanied by a text which described him as "noted mathematician . . . and Zionist leader."<sup>9</sup> 2,500 men and women were registered in Zionist organizations in Minneapolis alone when the war was over, although there were many "paper members" who dropped from the rolls once the final flush of enthusiasm had passed.<sup>10</sup> In the great peace demonstration of November 1918, in St. Paul, there could be seen "the old Jewish flag of the Jewish nation, the flag with the Mogen Dovid, flying spontaneously with the flags of America and other Allies."<sup>11</sup>

The Minnesota State House of Representatives added to the sense of Zionist victory. It made Minnesota the ninth state to pass a resolution favoring the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

RESOLVED: That it is the opinion of the House of Representatives that the national aspirations and the historic claims of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine be recognized at the peace conference, in accordance with the British government's declaration of November second, nineteen hundred and seventeen; be it further

RESOLVED: That it is the opinion of the House of Representatives that express provisions be made at the peace conference for the purpose of granting the Jewish people in every land the complete enjoyment of life, liberty and the opportunities for national development to the end that justice may be done to one of the most suffering people on Earth — the Jewish people.<sup>12</sup>

Monetary support, too, was forthcoming. Even anti-Zionist Rabbi Rypins now joined in the active work; and prominent Christians like Mayor Lawrence Hodgson of St. Paul, Rector James E. Freeman of the Episcopal Cathedral of Minneapolis, cleric-author Marion D. Schutter, and Frederick Eliot of St. Paul's Unity Church, all lent a hand.<sup>13</sup> *Haluzim* [pioneers] left the land

<sup>9</sup> SPD, April 7, 1921 (p. 15, col. 2).

<sup>10</sup> AJW, Sept. 26, 1919, Note especially the critique by Gustavus Loevinger, p. 10. In St. Paul, Young Judea could count 300 members (*ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1920).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1918 (p. 189).

<sup>12</sup> See *ibid.*, May 2, 1919 (p. 584).

<sup>13</sup> AI, Feb. 19, 1920; Frankel Papers, box 4, file 7, and box 5, file 4; AJW, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 77) and Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 79), on the drives for the Jewish National Fund and Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*). Jesse Calmenson relates (*ibid.*, p. 9) that it was Rabbi Rypins who persuaded Sol Fligelman to assume the chairmanship of the drive, which the latter did with singular success.



of the North Star to pioneer in the land of their forefathers.<sup>14</sup> Zionism had grown from a journalist's pamphlet and a people's dream into a worldwide movement with a blue-white flag and the Star of David and had in every community in Minnesota supplied the Jews with a vital program of common endeavor.

<sup>14</sup> *SP*, vol. I, no. 5 (Oct. 21, 1921), which shows a picture of the Abraham Mirsky family.

## *Safe For Democracy*

THE OUTBREAK of hostilities, in 1914, affected all segments of the American people, and it had its special impact on those who still had ties with nationals now engaged in the bitter struggle. There was a not inconsiderable pro-German sentiment, especially among those who viewed the Czarist regime as the chief representative of political and economic tyranny. But as the struggle wore on and the United States prepared to join it on the side of the Allies, a strong American nationalism came into evidence which looked askance at old-world connections, which pressed for restriction of immigration and which became the vehicle for hastened assimilation and acculturation.<sup>1</sup>

In the fall of the year 1917 American troops went to France. In December came the news of St. Paul's first casualty abroad. He was Milton Mark, son of one of the old families. At memorial services, Rabbi Philip Kleinman spoke the eulogy:

Here in St. Paul, one of our Jewish boys, a member of our Temple, holds the honor of being one of the first to enlist in the Marines, the first of his regiment to go to France, and the first to offer his life in the service.

Milton Mark was not yet of military age, yet he gave himself freely to the cause. Twice he was rejected because of his age. He had the

<sup>1</sup> Charles and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, new ed. (New York, 1940), pp. 635 ff. The Spanish-American War had not elicited the same type of all-encompassing nationalism. Among the Spanish veterans were Charles Markowitz and Robert Pinkus of St. Paul. See *JE*, vol. VIII, p. 500; *AJYB*, 1900-1901 (5661), pp. 569-570. These sources also list Capt. Albert Steinhauser of New Ulm, but his Jewish background could not be ascertained. He was married to Harriet Payne and died at more than ninety years of age; *New Ulm Daily Journal*, June 28, 1957 (p. 1), July 5, 1957 (p. 5). The June 28 issue calls him soldier, attorney, newspaperman, educator, and politician.

true Jewish spirit. This incident marks the first sacrifice of our St. Paul people in behalf of our country.<sup>2</sup>

Gustavus Loevinger added a thought which was shared by all Jews:

St. Paul Jews will grieve at this loss. But if death had to come, they will be proud that they were the first to make the great offering unto a freer world.<sup>3</sup>

When the fighting ceased, many others had been added to the list. Minneapolis Jews counted twelve dead and one missing, one having met his death in the Jewish Legion. St. Paul had ten casualties, one family, the Isaac D. Kahns, bearing more than their share: they lost two boys. Duluth had four dead and there were Jewish soldiers from the smaller towns who would never return. The list of the wounded was large; many were the citations which Jews were awarded.<sup>4</sup>

Some of those whose sons now joined the forces still had bitter memories of the old country. They believed with heart and soul in the American cause, for America had meant freedom and new opportunity for them. But the induction of their sons into the Army conjured up old fears. For "army" in Russia had often meant forcible conversion and permanent abduction from home—two evils which it was deemed morally justified to combat with every means. To overcome these old fears, a Mothers' Aid Organization was formed in Minnesota. Said one observer:

These mothers sat crying day and night for their sons and this board organized a committee of women who went around explaining to the mothers of the different boys why they had been inducted into service. They also told them that the American army would feed, clothe and care for their boys and they would not be mistreated just as the Russians starved and mistreated their soldiers; that it was necessary for every loyal American to go into the army and fight for his country. In this manner a new mental attitude was established and sunshine

<sup>2</sup> AJW, Dec. 28, 1917. Milton was the son of the Abraham S. Mark, and a grandson of Aaron and Bessie Mark. He belonged to B. Company, 504th Engineers. A generation later, another Jewish boy, also the son of pioneering families, was the first Minneapolis casualty in World War II (see *supra*, chapter 17, p. 118, note 13).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> For details of Minnesota's Jews in the war see Appendix B, *infra*, pp. 311–312.



brought into many a clouded mind. In fact, the ghetto district gave a bigger quota of Jewish soldiers to the nation's army than any other local Jewish division here.<sup>5</sup>

What fearful parents lacked in understanding, enthusiastic sons, filled with the sense of American liberty, more than made good. A Christian cleric took special note of this and felt moved to congratulate the Jewish people on their attitude toward the Conscription Act.<sup>6</sup> In Duluth, civic leader Abraham B. Kapplin was rejected seven times before he was finally accepted.<sup>7</sup>

The men and women who stayed at home also did their share. As early as 1917 a Twin Cities Council was organized to coordinate home activities in behalf of the soldiers, and this was followed in early 1918 by the formation of a chapter of the National Jewish Welfare Board, "to be of service to the men in service."<sup>8</sup> But not all Jews wanted special attention.

I am a Jew and not ashamed of it [one soldier said], but I don't want to bring my Jewishness to the front. I am known as a Jew, and to single me out, by having me have special things sent and known to be sent to me because I am a Jew, or to write in a special tent for Jews would single me out and many of us resent this.<sup>9</sup>

But as a matter of fact, the work of the local chapter of the JWB (as the Welfare Board was soon known) far exceeded parochial limitations. Red Cross and relief work, drives for Liberty Loans, War Savings Stamps, United War Fund Campaigns and even for the Salvation Army, were on the activities roster.<sup>10</sup> When Fort

<sup>5</sup> Report by Joseph Peilen, Chairman, War Records Committee, St. Paul, dated Sept. 1919 (hereafter referred to as Peilen Report); typescript, Frankel Papers, box 3, file 6.

<sup>6</sup> AJW, Aug. 3, 1917. For early war records, see *ibid.*, May 18, July 27, and Aug. 17, 1917.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1917.

<sup>8</sup> Rabbi C. David Matt was Chairman of the 1917 Council, Dr. Thomas Ziskin, Secretary; Mrs. Isaac L. Rypins and the local section of the National Council of Jewish Women were also taking a prominent part. See letter by Hiram D. Frankel to Dr. George L. Fox, Chicago, dated Oct. 23, 1917 (Frankel Papers, box 5, file 3). The Jewish Welfare Board branch was organized April 5, 1918 (AJW, Sept. 6, 1918 [according to Peilen Report, the date was May 1918]). Maurice Wolff was President of the Twin Cities Chapter, Rebecca Michaels was the Secretary.

<sup>9</sup> Frankel to Fox, Frankel Papers, box 5, file 3.

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Dittenhofer was head of the St. Paul Red Cross Chapter, and Hiram D. Frankel represented the Jewish Welfare Board in the United War Fund.

Snelling, located in the midst of the Twin Cities, was made into a great hospital base, immense needs arose for thousands of soldiers. The Jewish committees did pioneering work in creating leisure time therapy for the base. Twenty-five thousand dollars were raised locally, but this did not begin to meet the requirements. The Jews, Hiram D. Frankel wrote, were rendering great help to all the men:

[We are] really the main people on the job at the present time and because we have started it we can't quit it.

Frankel and others felt that the interdenominational work was not fully understood at the Eastern headquarters of the Jewish Welfare Board and described a handbook they had sent him "about as useful . . . as ice cream would be to a flea."<sup>11</sup> When the influenza epidemic reached its height, the civilian community was called upon for special effort. Frankel reported:

We now have nearly 3,000 sick men at Fort Snelling. These are the wounded men brought directly from France to the new Reconstruction Hospital which we wrote you about in detail some time ago. In nine cases out of ten, it is necessary for us to carry the entertainment to them, and if I tell you that we are working day and night to help these boys along with other agencies, you will appreciate the fact that we have some job on our hands. When I also tell you that we are the only agency which is giving a general service to all the men and at the same time also doing something for the nurses and the doctors there, you will know something of the magnitude of the task we have undertaken . . . there will probably be from 10 to 12 thousand men there before the winter is over, hundreds of them cannot even be moved and we can never get them downtown for an entertainment, but we are doing the best we can.<sup>12</sup>

Jewish Welfare Board volunteers were also working at the railroad depots, with the National Guard, at Uncle Sam's Clubs and especially at the Aviation School, where the epidemic had assumed frightful proportions. One of St. Paul's rabbis came in for special praise:

Commented Joseph Peilen:

These two men were on practically every war board in the city. Nearly 100 other Jews were in various campaigns and members of the different Committees (Peilen Report, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>11</sup> Frankel to Aaron Horwitz, Dec. 28, 1918 (Frankel Papers, box 10, file 8).

<sup>12</sup> Frankel to Jewish Welfare Board, Dec. 17, 1918 (Frankel Papers, box 3, file 3).

Rabbi Rypins spent days and nights there during the epidemic, watching for an opportunity to help the boys.<sup>13</sup>

The work did not go without appreciation. "The Jewish Welfare Board has been the backbone of all our entertainment," wrote a Christian chaplain; "without the assistance of the Jewish Welfare Board we could not have succeeded this summer," volunteered another.<sup>14</sup>

Of course, there were also specific activities in behalf of Jewish soldiers. Holiday passes had to be procured, Passover hospitality had to be found, and the usual needs of Jewish men had to be met. A powerful lesson in the new art of intra-Jewish co-operation was taught to workers and soldiers alike.<sup>15</sup>

None but the initiates could know the extent of the far-flung activities, of which a simple sign like this was but a faint reflection:

SOLDIERS, SAILORS AND MARINES

FREE LEMONADE

JEWISH WELFARE BOARD.<sup>16</sup>

It was testimony of a deeply felt desire to create some semblance of a home away from home for the boys who were making the world safe for democracy.

<sup>13</sup> Peilen Report, *loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> "Report of the Twin Cities Branch," (Frankel Papers, box 3, file 7).

<sup>15</sup> On a typical East-West and Orthodox-Reform problem, see *ibid.*, box 10, file 8 (note by Maurice Wolff).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, box 3, file 6. On holy day problems, see *ibid.*, file 7; on the women active on the committee, *ibid.*, file 6; on the men, box 10, file 8.

A great deal of material is contained in the Frankel Papers, revealing the day-to-day activities, finances, etc. in the smallest detail. See especially boxes 3, 20 and 38, and *passim*.

There was also an acrimonious altercation between the Jewish Welfare Board Chapter and Minneapolis' Gymal Doled Club (see box 10, file 8). This is especially interesting because it throws light on the relationship of the local to the national organization.



## *The Ravages of War*

AMERICAN JEWS had never had an opportunity to forget the victims of Czarist Russia. The persecutions of the eighties were exceeded by the massacres of Kishineff in the early part of the century, and appeals for succor remained an unhappy standard part of Jewish public life, bringing many of different backgrounds together in the work of overseas relief.<sup>1</sup>

After the outbreak of the war, it soon became evident that the Jews of Eastern Europe lived in an area directly astride the battle lines. At first, American relief was sent for dire necessities,<sup>2</sup> but as the full extent of the ravages which war brought to the Jewish population became known attempts were made to place relief work on a broader and more permanent basis. Quite naturally, Minnesota's Jews who came from Poland and Russia felt most directly involved. To them it was more than a general if urgent Jewish task; their closest relatives were affected. The initiative for relief work lay therefore with those of Eastern background, but the community had now matured sufficiently so that members of the German group would freely serve on city-wide committees even if the leadership lay not with them.<sup>3</sup> Special Relief Days were proclaimed, and the communities began to understand that standards of giving had to be revised substantially upward. The

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the fund raising drive in 1905 when Rabbi Rypins and Marcus Tessler addressed Orthodox congregations in a concerted city drive (*AI*, Nov. 23, 1905 [p. 2]). The non-Jewish world also was acquainted with the problems (see *ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1906 [p. 3]).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, *MZM*, vol. V, Dec. 6, 1914 (p. 85). The Board approved plans for a mass meeting after Sabbath services, to secure contributions.

<sup>3</sup> In St. Paul, the Jewish Relief Fund Association was organized in the fall of 1915, with Rabbi Alfred H. Kahn as President. The leadership also included Abraham Goldberg, Joseph Bellis, Adolph Hirschman, Sylvan Hess, Gustavus Loevinger, Albert I. Shapira, Mrs. Leon Salet, and Ethel Calmenson (*AJW*, Oct.

genuine concern with overseas needs affected the personal habits of many. In Minneapolis a Self-Denial Club was organized. The parents' example was catching: soon there was also a Junior Self-Denial Club.<sup>4</sup>

In 1917, news came from New York about the historic April 16th dinner at which Julius Rosenwald—now allied in marriage to one of Minnesota's best known families—had pledged \$1,000,000.00, under the condition that America's Jews would raise ten million dollars more. The response was instantaneous. Committees were enlarged or re-organized and soon everyone who was active in Jewish life was participating in a unique state-wide effort. Rabbi Judah L. Magnes came to the Twin Cities, and new precedents were set in generous giving. In St. Paul Jacob Dittenhofer and Moses L. Finkelstein each pledged ten percent of whatever the total collection would be; in Minneapolis Isaac H. Ruben did the same and John Friedman pledged five percent. At a meeting in Virginia, where an appeal was made to the Jews from the Range, Julius Shanedling was the "ten percenter," and Mrs. Samuel Milawetz stripped her rings from her fingers and auctioned them off in behalf of the cause. In a few days the magic \$100,000.00 was passed for the first time in the state. Thereafter collections and appeals became part of Jewish life. Sometimes they were held as a special need arose or they confined themselves to house-to-house collections. Another time, in 1922, the emergency called for a climaxing drive which in St. Paul alone netted pledges of \$130,000.<sup>5</sup> Still, the pre-occupation with Jewish suffer-

---

1, 1915 [pp. 124 ff.]). In Minneapolis, Yom Kippur appeals for charity and war sufferers were made in all synagogues. Deinard appealed both at the Temple and in one of the Orthodox *shules* (*ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1915 [p. 98]).

<sup>4</sup> AJW, March 30, May 18 and 25, 1917. There were also some early conflicts between various groups in their concern for overseas welfare. In 1916, relief work on the North Side was reported snagged because Rabbi Silber's efforts were side-tracked by a "People's Relief Committee," a Marxist group (AJW, Dec. 15, 1916). On the results of Minneapolis War Relief Day see *ibid.*, Feb. 4 and 11, and March 3, 1916. In St. Paul new workers had come to the fore in the Relief Fund Association: Abraham Finberg was now Vice-President; Isaac Libman, Secretary; Samuel Winer, Associate Treasurer. Mount Zion had raised \$6,000.00; Temple of Aaron, \$350.00; Sons of Abraham, \$250.00; Sons of Jacob, \$750.00 (*ibid.*, March 24, 1916). When the famous Yiddish orator, Zevi Hirsch Masliansky, came to town, another \$1,500.00 was raised at a mass meeting (*ibid.*, March 31, 1916). After the war Jewish workers gave a half day's wages for the hungering masses of Russia (SP, vol. I, no. 2 [Sept. 30, 1921], p. 1).

<sup>5</sup> See AJW, April 20, April 27, May 4, July 6, 1917 and Sept. 22, 1922 (pp. 44

ing did not preempt whole-hearted participation by Jews in the alleviation of other needs. Even when the Jewish War Relief drive was at its height, ten percent of the total raised for it went for Soldiers and Sailors Welfare.<sup>6</sup> When, in October 1918, a disastrous fire at Moose Lake left four thousand families homeless, Joseph Schanfeld, Hiram D. Frankel and Rabbi Isaac Rypins travelled across the state raising funds for the victims and were generously received by Jews everywhere. True, Jewish families too were struck by the catastrophe, but the response to the appeal was broadly humanitarian.<sup>7</sup>

As American Jews discovered the potentials of giving they also discovered the power of communal planning. The type of co-operation which was beginning to show fruits in cities and towns, was by and by attempted on the national scale. Late in 1915, plans were formulated for the calling of an American Jewish Congress, an assembly which would deal with the war emergency and which would at the same time help to democratize Jewish life. The one leading organization which then spoke publicly on matters affecting Jewish interests was the American Jewish Committee, but despite its excellent leadership and work there was some feeling that its philosophy reflected only the upper segment of the Jewish population.<sup>8</sup>

Communities everywhere now formed temporary committees

---

and 51); *AI*, June 14, 1917; April 26 and May 3, 1918; *SPD*, Dec. 17, 1918 (p. 10, col. 4), where the public is asked to contribute and send donations to Anthony Finberg, 580 Capitol Heights Boulevard. Campaign leaders were, according to the above sources:

ST. PAUL: Moses L. Finkelstein, President, Consolidated War Relief Committee, Rabbi Isaac L. Rypins, Vice-President, and Jacob Dittenhofer, Honorable Chairman (1917); Isaac Summerfield (1918); James Neiger, Albert I. Shapira (1920); Louis R. Frankel, Leon Salet (1922).

MINNEAPOLIS: Joseph Schanfeld, Chairman; Emanuel Cohen, Vice-Chairman; Rabbis Deinard and Matt; John Friedman, David Goldblum, Mrs. Arthur Brin (1917); Joseph Schanfeld, Isaac H. Ruben, Peter Markus, Dr. Maurice Lefkovits (1922).

DULUTH: Hyman Y. Josephs, Chairman (1922).

Among State leaders were: Leo Shapiro, Chairman (1917); Julius Shanedling (of Virginia); Max Pogalsky (of Hibbing); Walter Manson (of Buhl); Morris Peck (of Chisholm); Sam Ellis (of Eveleth); Morris Stein (of Gilbert); Abe Bloomenson (of Ely).

<sup>6</sup> *AJW*, April 26, 1918.

<sup>7</sup> Frankel Papers, box 8, file 3. Much material on the fire is found here. Frankel was adjutant of a battalion which was sent up to help.

<sup>8</sup> See Deinard's critique in *AJW*, May 26 and July 21, 1916.



to organize the projected Congress on a local level. All sections and groups participated. Chairman for St. Paul was Jesse B. Calmenson, a young man who was just emerging as a dynamic new leader, whose devoted service in the years to come was to make him one of the most honored and best beloved Jewish citizens of the next generation. Twenty-five organizations were represented at the first St. Paul gathering. They chose Gustavus Loevinger and Abe Calmenson to go to the initial conference of the Congress in Philadelphia. This very choice augured well for the growing maturity of the community; for not only were these men proven workers, but they enjoyed the support and respect of all factions.<sup>9</sup>

This broad communal approach was in evidence also in Minneapolis. Dr. George Gordon headed the organizational conference, and Rabbi Deinard was selected as the logical man to go East. He like the chairman could speak for all his fellow Jewish townsmen.<sup>10</sup>

The following year, the Congress was ready to face American Jewry with a significant test of internal democratic action. Delegates were to be elected by popular vote, and each community proceeded to nominate its candidates for the local elections. Three delegates were allotted to Minnesota; one each for the Twin Cities, and one for the rest of the state. In May 1917, just after America had entered the war and as the suffering in Eastern Europe reached new extremes in the wake of Russia's impending collapse, American Jews, preparing to vote for their delegates, went through serious intracommunal rivalries. Sometimes it was merely a choice between two strong personalities which faced the voters, sometimes it was a question of ideology, sometimes a question of background. Throughout the nation the Eastern European element, far outnumbering the old German group, now

<sup>9</sup> The organization was effected Jan. 19, 1916; Mrs. Henry (Amalia) Weiller was its first Secretary (*AJW*, Jan. 7, March 17 and July 21, 1916; *AI*, May 11, 1916). Twenty five years later, Jesse Calmenson served as national organizational secretary for the American Jewish Conference, called under similar conditions in the Second World War. He was born Dec. 1, 1892, in St. Paul, the son of Cain and Annie, and was a nephew of Moses Calmenson. He was a graduate of the St. Paul College of Law and married Bertha Sloan (see *WWAJ*, 1926). He died, after having given a life-time of communal leadership, on April 14, 1952.

<sup>10</sup> *AJW*, March 3, 1916.

showed that it was ready to share, if not to assume, the role of leadership. The larger the internal cleavage was between old and new in a community, the more certain it was that the voters would make their choice on the basis of the candidate's background. The greater the strides were which the community had made toward unification, the more likely it was that the choice would be made along lines other than those of background. Minnesota demonstrated this rule in its three elections. Although the total number of votes proved disappointing, the majorities achieved by the winners were substantial.

St. Paul's still comparatively wide social cleavage found its reflection at the polls. Even though Gustavus Loevinger was far better known than his opponent, a young University professor, Dr. Moses Barron, the latter won easily. The newspaper credited the victory to Barron's strong Zionist appeal, but Barron's East European background probably also played a role. St. Paul's still divided Jews had recourse to a decision strongly based on sentiments of background.<sup>11</sup>

Since Minneapolis was much farther along in its process of internal integration it did not face a similar choice. Both its candidates, Rabbi C. David Matt and Dr. George Gordon, stood for largely the same things. Both were Zionists and had similar backgrounds. Samuel Deinard would have liked to see Matt receive the popular nod, but he knew that Gordon would win easily—which in fact he did.<sup>12</sup>

The most interesting development occurred in the elections outside the Twin Cities. The nominees were Solomon Bublick of Eveleth and Rabbi Maurice Lefkovits of Duluth. Both were well known and both were capable of adequately representing their constituency. Bublick, however, made a serious error. Counting on the lack of understanding which traditional Jews had for Reform, he injected the religious issue into the campaign and

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, May 18 and June 15, 1917. Since Barron was serving in France as a Captain in the Medical Corps, Loevinger attended the Congress in 1918. On Barron's background see *supra*, chapter 18, p. 128, note 13.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, May 25 and June 15, 1917. Matt, however, attended the following year. Minutes are extant about the reports Loevinger and Matt rendered after attending the Philadelphia Congress. They were taken Jan. 15, 1919 by Mrs. Henry (Amalia) Weiller, and are in the possession of Mrs. Jesse (Bertha) Calmenson, St. Paul.

declared Lefkovits unqualified because he was a Reform Jew. Bublick hoped for a wide response from Jewish voters throughout his election area in the state where, with the exception of Duluth, Reform was non-existent. But he had not counted on the essential unity which these Jewish communities had already achieved. Because few lines of diversity ran through their social structures, an appeal such as Bublick made fell on deaf ears. The election of Lefkovits underscored to a marked degree the growing maturity of Jewish life.<sup>13</sup>

With the end of the war still another new avenue of Jewish self-expression was opened. Heretofore, with but few exceptions, Jewish appeals had been directed to the Jewish public only. Where they were directed to a larger audience, the usual methods of placing articles in newspapers or of exercising political persuasion were used. Now for the first time the medium of mass meetings and mass parades was used to protest the atrocities which were being perpetrated in Poland and the Ukraine.

In Duluth, in 1919, the first attempt at a public protest meeting ran into rough waters. A local Polish priest took umbrage at what he construed to be an attack on the good name of Poland and on its dominant religion, and tried to turn the protests into anti-Jewish channels. However, the Jews were not to be dissuaded from doing what they considered was morally right and politically necessary. A large meeting heard Solomon Bublick's stirring address and issued a statement in which even the Duluth Polish community eventually joined.<sup>14</sup>

The greatest communal outpouring came in December when the full extent of the Ukrainian massacres became known. "2,000 March in Sub-Zero Weather in Mourning Procession . . .," the paper reported.<sup>15</sup> It was a Monday. On the North Side of Minneapolis all Jewish stores were closed. At four in the afternoon three thousand people assembled at Keneseth Israel to hear Rabbi

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, June 8 and 15, 1917.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1919. In 1956, Louis Gordon remembered this meeting as a most outstanding and significant event.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1919. The parade took place on Dec. 1st. The demonstration had been arranged by a committee for the defense of Polish and Rumanian Jews, with Louis Feigelman as Chairman. A year later, Mount Zion Temple in St. Paul was the place of a fund-raising meeting for the refugees. Julius Rosenwald and Rabbi Nathan Krass were the speakers; *SPPP*, Dec. 19, 1920 (p. 9).



Solomon M. Silber. Then began the parade, led by Isaac Schulman and Max Schalett. A police squad cleared the streets, a twenty-piece band played solemn dirges, and one hundred Jewish servicemen in uniform headed the demonstrators who marched in columns of four. They carried banners proclaiming:

America, we look to you,  
Humanity's friend ever true.

At eight o'clock, they reached the Auditorium, where in total silence a huge audience had been waiting for hours. Rabbi Deinar spoke in English, Rabbi Silber and others in Yiddish. Mayor J. Edward Meyers spoke for the city, and ministers of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches expressed the sentiments of Christians. There was a delegation from the Ukranian colony in Minneapolis who presented a resolution of sorrow; there were memorial chants by St. Paul's Cantor Eli Kreidberg and his choir; there were resolutions which were telegraphed to Congress, to the State Department and to President Wilson. It was a moving and memorable evening; moving because of the calamity which prompted it, and memorable, because the ravages of war had brought the tools and methods of democracy to Jewish communal life in Minnesota on a new and broader basis.

## *The Larger Scene*

WITH THE numerical growth of the Jewish community came problems of relationship to the Christian environment, problems which had been hardly noticeable in earlier years. In 1907 Frankel had written:

Jewish people are interested in politics, but the old trouble of pushing Jewish candidates forward simply because they were Jews has been dodged for years and although we have Jewish office-holders and many appointed positions filled by Jews, all are splendid officials and have enviable records.<sup>1</sup>

This was probably an accurate picture of the involvement of Jews in public service. At the half-century mark of Jewish life in Minnesota, Jews were just beginning to acquire that special self-consciousness which anti-Semitism breeds and which was to color Jewish life for a generation thereafter. There were indeed times when, as in the Ku Klux Klan days, the election of a Samuel Dittenhofer to the Presidency of the Community Chest of St. Paul was an event directly affecting the status of the Jewish community and was so experienced by the Jews, if not to the same extent by the non-Jews. There were also the early days when even marginal Jews like Noah and Elfelt would by their very success enhance Jewish prestige and self-confidence in a small pioneering environment. Jews had been elected and had filled many offices since, but this was newsworthy from a purely civic viewpoint only. They were citizens who held office well or poorly, but were not officeholders with that special emphasis on "Jewish" which only much later would become popular. Many a Jew made significant contributions to the life of his community. As time went on there were so many of them that a complete

<sup>1</sup> H. D. Frankel, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 41.

listing would be impossible and, in fact, irrelevant in terms of Jewish life. Once the barrier to public service was completely removed—a barrier which often existed only in the minds of the Jews themselves—successful officeholders ceased to affect the Jewish community structure significantly. Only on occasion, when the honor which the public had bestowed was great, was the Jewish community involved to any extent.

What was important, however, was the visible preponderance of Jewish civic participation in St. Paul when compared with that recorded for Minneapolis. From the days of Jacob J. Noah on the Jews of St. Paul had been part and parcel of its political and civic affairs. In this respect Minneapolis' Jews were late-comers who even by the time the World War ended had not yet caught up with the civic tradition of the older Twin. Simon Meyers had been one of the few to achieve political prominence and had served for one term in the 1897 State Legislature.<sup>2</sup> "The Jewish people [of Minneapolis] never stood very high with the non-Jews even in those days," was his estimate which may have been shaded by events many decades later, but which, nonetheless, accurately portrayed the fact that the city's Jews were not generally active in public life and "did not belong to civic organizations."<sup>3</sup> This generalization too was of course erroneous—people like Emanuel and Nina Cohen were obviously giving it the lie. Yet there was a difference between the two cities. For where in Minneapolis the number of civic Jewish leaders was small, it was large in St. Paul where it was spread over a wide area of activity.

Joseph Oppenheim had been St. Paul's second Jew in the Legislature. He served in 1879, at the age of twenty-six.<sup>4</sup> Charles Bechhoefer occupied the office of United States Commissioner, which Isaac N. Cardozo had held for over thirty years,<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>2</sup> Minnesota *LM*, 1897, p. 623. Meyers served for the 31st District, in the 30th Legislature. He was the son of Henry and Viola Meyers of Syracuse, New York, where he was born in 1862. He practiced law in Minneapolis from 1883 on, and married Minnie Dittenhoefer. See R. Danenbaum, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 29, and A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 279–296 (where the "anonymous" recollections of a German-American family are clearly those of Simon Meyers and his descendants).

<sup>3</sup> A. I. Gordon, quoting an opinion by Meyers, *loc. cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> He was born in New York, had come to St. Paul in 1872, and had entered the wholesale millinery business (*MB*, p. 568).

<sup>5</sup> "Commissioner" was the title of the deputy to the District Court (see *supra*, chapter 6, p. 46).



shortly after the First World War he was elevated to the judgeship of the District Court, the first Jewish citizen in Minnesota to be so honored.<sup>6</sup> Henry Strouse stood for City Council on the Democratic ticket and was elected before the turn of the century.<sup>7</sup> Usually, Jews preferred to enter public life through appointive rather than elective means, for their interest lay more in civic service than political office. Daniel Aberle, a prominent business man and past President of the Temple, served on the Board of Park Commissioners from 1891 on and in 1908 was chosen its President. As a member of the then uniformed Governor's guard he obtained the rank of Colonel.<sup>8</sup>

There were many others: Henry Gallick was Court Commissioner in St. Paul, Jacob Dittenhofer served on the Library Board, and his son, Samuel, was head of the Red Cross Chapter, William Elsinger and Isaac Lederer were on the Water Board, Samuel H. Haas was city building inspector, Edward Haas was chairman of the State Securities Commission, and "many others have served on boards, or commissions in years past."<sup>9</sup>

Isaac L. Rypins, St. Paul's Reform rabbi, for years devoted much time and effort to serving the public weal. While Deinard in Minneapolis turned primarily to internal Jewish affairs and to the arduous tasks of writer and editor, Rypins laid increasing emphasis on bringing Jewish thought to Christian audiences and on representing the Jewish community in a multitude of causes. He considered himself the representative of the Jews to the non-Jews and took his goodwill mission most seriously. Beginning with his splendid work for Neighborhood House, which he served

<sup>6</sup> Bechhoefer was born on Jan. 1, 1864, in Woodbury, Pennsylvania and had attended the University of Michigan. He served as United States Commissioner from 1899 to 1905, and from 1923 on, as Judge of the District Court (see *LM*, 1923, p. 606 and *WWAJ*, 1926). From 1888 to 1926, almost without interruption, he served on the Board of Mount Zion Temple. At his death, Gustavus Loevinger was appointed to his post on the bench and served until his retirement in 1956.

<sup>7</sup> *SPD*, May 24, 1894; see also, April 10, 12 and 14, 1894. He was elected by the second highest vote.

<sup>8</sup> He served under Governors John A. Johnson, Adolph A. Eberhart and Winfield S. Hammond. Aberle was born in Mannheim, Germany, in 1848, and came to the United States, in 1867, and to St. Paul, in 1880. He was Treasurer of the Democratic State Central Committee and a delegate to the National Democratic convention in 1904 (*AI*, March 26, 1908, and Jan. 6, 1916).

<sup>9</sup> Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 51; also oral testimony by Samuel H. Haas, given to the author in 1953.

faithfully throughout his St. Paul career, he rated pre-eminently in all civic matters. He was a member of the Governor's Committee to Revise the Child Labor Law, the Mayor appointed him to the City Art Commission and he was elected President of the Newsboys Club. He lectured before a veritable multitude of leagues and clubs, schools and colleges, and churches of all denominations. He often addressed himself to the role of the immigrant in American society, a subject which he felt needed much interpretation. He was widely known for his social interests and non-conformist views and he received vigorous support in his activities not only from his congregation, but also from his wife who soon became a civic leader in her own right. The name Rypins meant public service in St. Paul, and so wide a range of interests could not remain without effect on Jewish status and prestige.<sup>10</sup>

Another Jew who entered the larger scene of community life with great enthusiasm and success was Hiram D. Frankel. At the University, he served for almost two decades as Chairman of the Law Alumni and for years was a member of the Regent Advisory Board. In 1915, he became literary editor of the St. Paul *Daily News*. He served prominently in the National Guard, was one of the city's most ardent musical and operatic entrepreneurs and during the war received a Federal Draft Board appointment (serving with him was a young lawyer, Milton P. Firestone, who was just beginning to make a name for himself). Frankel was a large man with inexhaustible energy, a prodigious letter writer and careful record keeper, who carried on a law practice to make a living. He was identified with almost every Jewish cause. In addition to his B'nai B'rith leadership in his city and in the states of the Sixth District, he was later preoccupied with war work in the Jewish Welfare Board and showed increasing concern for Jewish civic protection. None of these multifarious activities prevented him from accepting the chairmanship of the Citizen's Committee for Better Schools. Perhaps he took this important

<sup>10</sup> On this part of Rypins' activities see *AI*, April 5, Oct. 8 and Nov. 29, 1906; July 1, 1909; March 10, 1910; Sept. 5 and Nov. 14, 1912; April 17, 1913; Oct. 21, 1915; May 11, Aug. 31, and Nov. 2, 1916. See also *supra*, ch. 28, p. 212.

On Esther Rypins, who served during many of these years as President of Council (see, for example, *ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1914 [where the role of Mrs. Ralph N. Cardozo is also mentioned as an active member of the Civic League]; March 15, 1917, and April 18, 1918).

civic position because the West Side had become a focal point of discontent. Lafayette School, where most of the area's Jewish children attended, was badly in need of attention, and when city help was not forthcoming the Jewish parents in the school district organized, met at the Hebrew Institute and planned for a strike.<sup>11</sup> Frankel's leadership soon had remedial effects and added to his stature as the most versatile and energetic Jewish civic servant in town.<sup>12</sup>

At least one St. Paul Jew had a monument named in his honor. It was a fountain in Como Park, erected as a memorial to Robert Mannheimer, one of the city's great merchants.<sup>13</sup> It was given to the city by his family.

Everywhere Jews entered fully into the life of the town. Some could remember the first Winter Carnival, when they had thrown themselves heart and soul into the frolic, and had been especially active in the drummers' "Knights of the Grip."<sup>14</sup> Activities such as these were partly social in character and therefore appealed to St. Paul's German Jewish group whose civic record avoided the rough-and-tumble of the ground-level political fray. Understandably, a Jewish observer raised in the old German tradition did not like it when in the densely populated Jewish district the more recent immigrants gave little heed to the sensitivities of the older settlers and entered political life with verve and abandon. He complained:

Our coreligionists seem to be going into that with all their might. We have "Hebrew" Democratic and "Hebrew" Republican Clubs, Hebrew candidates and Hebrew heelers and the second-hand business is right at home there and will no doubt have some pledges to realize upon later on. Whether this new departure will shed fresh lustre upon the hitherto enjoyed, hard-earned respectability of our people is a question not likely to be answered in the affirmative.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> AJW, Sept. 15, 1916.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Frankel Papers, box 3, file 6 (on the United War Fund Campaign); box 13, file 5 (on the school issue); box 14, file 4 (on his newspaper work); box 18, files 2 and 5, (on his musical interests); box 21, file 14 (on his University connections).

<sup>13</sup> *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of St. Paul for the year ending Dec. 31, 1905* (St. Paul, 1906). The fountain was given by the Mannheimer and Goodkind families.

<sup>14</sup> AI, Jan. 28, 1887.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, April 12, 1894. In 1908, for example, there was a Sixth Ward Hebrew



There was no question that St. Paul's Jews were part of the community to a much more significant extent than anywhere else in the state. Minneapolis had its Simon Meyers in politics and its Nina and Emanuel Cohen in civic work; Duluth had its Bernard and Edward A. Silberstein, father and son; the Range had its Solomon Sax, Mille Lacs its Emmet Mark and Eden Valley its Joseph Friedman.<sup>16</sup> But withal, St. Paul occupied a unique position. Here, a relatively small Jewish community—its leading segment, at any rate—had integrated itself into the environment to a considerable degree and had been able to combine Jewish self-identification with general public affairs.

---

Citizens League (see *AJYB*, 1908–1909 [5669], p. 151); and in 1915, a Jewish Socialist Association [Minutes, Neighborhood House, Sept. 30, 1915]).

<sup>16</sup> On Solomon Sax, Emmet Mark, Joseph Friedman, and others, see *supra*, chapter 18, p. 126 f.; on Bernard Silberstein, chapter 19, p. 132 f.; on Edward A. Silberstein, who founded and was first President of the Associated Charities of Duluth (1909), see W. van Brunt, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 298; H. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Edward was born Aug. 3, 1873, and died March 22, 1938.

## *Church and Synagogue*

WITH ALL its throbbing life, the Jewish community in Minnesota was, of course, only a small religious minority. Lutherans predominated throughout the state and even in heavily mixed St. Paul had thirty-seven churches before the First World War, while the Catholics had twenty-four, the Methodists twenty, and Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists about fifteen each.<sup>1</sup> Opportunities for joint religious endeavor were few. On certain communal occasions like the public mourning for the victims of the *Maine*, Jews participated with services of their own; there were no common services in those days.<sup>2</sup> From time to time, a distinguished rabbi appeared before Christian audiences. Dr. Stephen S. Wise came to town and lectured before the Women's Welfare League on "Women and Democracy."<sup>3</sup> There was an increasing exchange of pulpits. Synagogue facilities were extended to civic groups or churches — but there was none of the self-consciousness of later days about it. If the request for space was inconvenient, the Jewish group would not hesitate to say so.<sup>4</sup> When Rypins was away, Christian clergymen usually occupied the pulpit. The topics were of a general nature, but occasionally a visiting divine would speak on a subject such as "What the World Owes to the Jew."<sup>5</sup> A whole group of Christians might attend the Jewish service to learn about Judaism.<sup>6</sup> In the notorious Mendel Beilis case, a Russian blood libel tragedy,

<sup>1</sup> H. Castle, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

<sup>2</sup> *AI*, Feb. 16, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, *MZM*, vol. IV, Feb. 4, 1906 (p. 101), and Sept. 1, 1907 (p. 145).

<sup>5</sup> *AI*, May 21, 1908; Sept. 30, 1909; for Duluth, see, for example, *ibid.*, April 15, 1915.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1914.

Bishop James McGolrick of Duluth came forward to protest the outrage.<sup>7</sup>

Christian interest in Jews was motivated also by missionary hopes. There was a "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Jews in the City of Saint Paul." It was doubtlessly encouraged by the knowledge that Samuel Freuder, once a rabbi at Mount Zion, had become a Christian convert. If a rabbi could turn to Christianity, there must surely be laymen to take the step. But the success of the Society was negligible, despite its long name and imposing letterhead. Even the poetic sentiments of a converted Jew failed to move any considerable number of his coreligionists.

Kind Gentile brother of the West,  
 Good priest of many years,  
 Thy Kindness soothes my heart to rest,  
 And dries my mournful tears. . . .  
 Kind Gentile brother, much beloved,  
 May God thy days prolong,  
 And bless thy children with His grace  
 To sing the pilgrim's song. . . .<sup>8</sup>

But there were Jews who as Jews gave freely to Christian causes: William H. Elsinger left \$25,000.00 for an institution to be built by the Salvation Army, and Joseph Elsinger donated a large tract of land to an Episcopal home for aged women.<sup>9</sup>

When it came to defending their faith in public, Jews were forthright enough. Yet the burgeoning relationship between Jews and Christians demanded courtesy on both sides and left little room for the unrestrained pronouncements of earlier days, when such considerations weighed less heavily. In the nineties Rabbi Emanuel Hess had simply and strongly affirmed the superiority of Judaism over Christianity. He approvingly quoted a contemporary historian who said:

Christianity falls far below the best morality of the ancients, its ideal is negative rather than positive, passive rather than active.

<sup>7</sup> *AJYB*, 1914-1915 (5675), p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> From a poem by Mark Levy, found on the stationery of the Society, appended to Journal, Guild of the Church of the Good Shepherd (Episcopal), MHS, Ms. Collection no. 6519. The church book is dated Nov. 1, 1904.

<sup>9</sup> *AI*, Feb. 23, 1911.



"This must be modified," said Hess; still, his essay left little doubt about his comparative evaluation of Judaism and Christianity.<sup>10</sup> Even when he wrote for a sectarian Christian publication on the subject of anti-Semitism, he did not hesitate to put the blame for this prejudice at the door of Christianity.<sup>11</sup> A decade later Jews probably cherished the same ideas, but they were no longer likely to express them as bluntly before other than private audiences. There was more sensitivity now to "public relations," as it was called; and with this greater sensitivity came also a keener awareness of the deeper problems which underlay the dogmatic differences among American denominations.

Minnesota was one of many states in the Union in which blue laws had been promulgated. If there was Jewish protest at the time of their passage, we have no record of it. Work on Sunday was forbidden by law. As elsewhere in America the law was soon tested in the courts, by those who wished to observe the Jewish Sabbath instead. The statute was upheld only to the extent that any work which disturbed Sunday worshippers was forbidden; otherwise it was allowed.<sup>12</sup>

As early as the 1870's Bible reading in the public schools had been a matter of controversy.<sup>13</sup> Now the whole issue of religion in the schools came to the fore. In 1911, Rypins lectured before a University group on the subject, "Shall Religion Be Taught in Public Institutions?"<sup>14</sup> A few years later, the forces favoring a breach in the wall of separation between Church and State were found to be in the ascendancy and Jews were beginning to feel that this matter affected their vital interests.<sup>15</sup> They brought

<sup>10</sup> From a lecture entitled "Mosaic Rabbinical Morals Compared With Christian Lessons"; in MZA [n. d.].

<sup>11</sup> *Macalester Monthly*, vol. I, no. 3 (Dec., 1898), pp. 71-77. See *supra*, chapter 25, p. 188, note 22.

<sup>12</sup> *State v. Weiss*, 105 N. W. (Supreme Court of Minnesota, Jan. 19, 1906), interpreting Chapter 362, p. 652 of the Laws of 1903 and Section 6513 of General Statutes of Minnesota, 1894. The 1894 law was upheld on April 9, 1900 (*Petit vs. Minnesota*, 177 U. S. Reports, p. 164). See also Sections 4980-4986 of the *Revised Laws of 1905*; *AJYB*, 1908-1909 (5669), pp. 159-160, 179.

<sup>13</sup> See *supra*, chapter 12, p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> *AI*, Feb. 9, 1911.

<sup>15</sup> See Mrs. Bernard Druck's article in *SPPP*, March 7, 1915. Mrs. Druck was the first President of the Ramsey School Mothers Club, and achieved wide prominence through the National Thanksgiving Day Association, which she served as National President.

Mlle. Jeanne Dreyfus, daughter of the French Captain, to town to speak on Church and State, for if any family would know about the effects of religious pressure in the precincts of politics, it was hers.<sup>16</sup> Bible reading was once again the question around which the issue crystallized.

Jews had brought suit against the school board of Virginia, Minnesota, which had adopted a resolution of the Ministerial Association requesting that a Bible be placed in every class room and that passages from the King James version be read daily without note or comment. The Minnesota Supreme Court could see nothing wrong in this procedure. According to its interpretation no one's fundamental rights had been injured. Chief Justice Samuel B. Wilson dissented:

To require the Jewish child to read the New Testament which extols Christ as the Messiah is to tell them that their religious teachings at home are untrue. There they are taught a denial of Christ's Divinity and resurrection.

Is it possible that this does not interfere with the rights of conscience of parent and perhaps of the child?<sup>17</sup>

Even excusing the Jewish children from Bible reading would be no relief for them, said the Chief Justice, for it would introduce preference and distinction. It was a point of view on which Jewish organizations would base all future approaches to this sensitive matter.<sup>18</sup> Deinard bitterly opposed Doctor William F. Crafts, a Christian, who had come to town to advocate Bible reading in the schools. In St. Paul, a committee was formed to combat a bill of this type, and the celebration of Christmas in the public schools began to be felt as a Jewish issue.<sup>19</sup> Weekday religious instruction presented a new problem. The Gary release time plan was coming into vogue. Under it, students were released from public school during a certain hour, so that they could be instructed in the church of their choice. Jews were divided on it. At first, there was

<sup>16</sup> *AJW*, April 6, 1917.

<sup>17</sup> *Kaplan vs. Independent School District of Virginia*, 214 N.W. 18, 171 Minn. 144 (Supreme Court of Minnesota, April 22, 1927).

<sup>18</sup> See also Resolution of the Council of Jewish Women, *AI*, Dec. 14, 1916. See also letter of Hiram D. Frankel to Anti-Defamation League, dated Feb. 5, 1919, asking for data and guidance (Frankel Papers, box 4, file 5).

<sup>19</sup> *AJW*, Nov. 17, Dec. 15, 1916, and Jan. 19, 1917. A state bill providing for five minutes of daily Bible reading was defeated in 1925 (*SPD*, March 19, 1925).

much sentiment in favor of such a plan which seemed to avoid the evils of preference. The Central Conference of American Rabbis endorsed it and Deinard followed its lead. He criticized Rabbi Moses P. Jacobson of Shreveport, Louisiana, for resigning from the Conference because of a plan which, Deinard opined, appeared to be a "most harmless arrangement."<sup>20</sup>

Jewish opinion would shift radically in subsequent years. While Jews never supported the extreme position which considered all parochial schools a menace to the public weal, they had good reason to fear the further encroachment of the Church on the State.<sup>21</sup> Jews could not help but notice that tension between Catholics and Protestants was once again on the increase. The time was approaching when overt demonstrations of good will would be required of all denominations, for equality of status was bound to bring greater contact, and therewith also added friction between the various groups.

<sup>20</sup> *AJW*, Oct. 27, 1916. See also Frankel Papers, box 4, file 5 (an inquiry from Fargo, North Dakota).

<sup>21</sup> See *SPD*, March 2, 1924.



## *Anti-Defamation*

A CERTAIN citizen of St. Paul, stating expressly that he was not a Jew, wrote a letter to his local newspaper. He commented on a recent story which had told how a Jewish private had met with difficulties when he wanted to become an officer in the regular army, difficulties which had to do with his being a Jew. He ended his letter by saying:

The undersigned has known in Germany three Jews who were decorated for distinguished bravery by Emp. William, with the Iron Cross. Give the Jew a chance, that is all he wants.<sup>1</sup>

Jews might not care for the forced example, but they agreed with the sentiment. All they wanted was the opportunity to live as citizens in a democracy which gave full honor to its name. They knew that they still had obstacles to hurdle. People still had old-world prejudices and had even learnt a few new ones. But in St. Paul, at any rate, Jews had felt for a long time that their relationship with their neighbors had been improving steadily. The depression of 1893 and the flare-up of nativism, expressed through the American Protective Association, had not left any significant mark in Minnesota—at least not in Jewish-Gentile relations. In 1907 Frankel wrote:

Racial feeling against the Jews so prominent in St. Paul twenty years ago has died down. Despite the fact, too, that the Catholics and Lutherans predominate in our city. This quietude is due almost entirely to the small percentage of crime traceable to Jewish doors, the absence of Jewish scandals, the total lack of discord and the special care given by the Jewish societies to keep the city and its citizens from a penny of expense in caring for Jewish poor, homeless or refugees.

<sup>1</sup> SPD, Aug. 30, 1911 (p. 10).

There have been less than half a dozen Jewish divorce suits in St. Paul in a quarter of a century. There have been but half a dozen criminal trials of consequence where Jewish persons were involved in the same period. Our state penitentiary contains but two Jews and these are in for minor offenses. This among a population of over 800 in the state prison.<sup>2</sup>

"Racial feeling" was not to easily measured, and whether in fact it had formerly been worse, was hard to prove. But there *was* improvement simply because Jews felt that way, for the assessment of one's own position has a direct influence on the position itself. The reasons which the writer gave were significant: anti-Semitism, he held, was a direct result of Jewish misbehavior, and consequently, its absence could be explained by exemplary Jewish conduct.

The institution of the B'nai B'rith arbitration courts was in part an outgrowth of this philosophy. Minor Jewish squabbles were not to be aired in public. Despite the fact that not too many Jews availed themselves of this arbitration, the Order's leaders believed these courts to be a significant factor in alleviating anti-Semitism.<sup>3</sup>

With the establishment in 1913 of the National Anti-Defamation League, soon simply known as ADL, the Jewish community became alerted to the smaller, day-by-day annoyances of discrimination as well as to the larger issues. Jews saw things they had not seen before and by patient and often apparently petty insistence set themselves to convince the non-Jewish public of the errors of anti-Semitism. They rarely were able to tackle the root of the evil, but by keeping its public manifestations to a minimum they hoped to eventually throttle the disease altogether. There were no significant open disturbances. There were neighborhood tensions, but they did not flare into serious or prolonged conflict. A Jewish Protection Club was organized, but found no real activity to justify its existence.<sup>4</sup>

The first line of attack was the press. Slow progress was achieved in persuading editors and, in time, copy writers that

<sup>2</sup> H. D. Frankel, *RA, loc. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Frankel Papers, box 5, file 5; box 4, file 6. This was in 1910, and Frankel himself had a leading part in the venture, for he had an absorbing interest in anti-defamation work. In Minneapolis, Arthur Brin was President of the Court (see *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937 [p. 87]).

<sup>4</sup> *AJYB*, 1915-1916 (5676), p. 330.

"Jew" was an unnecessary and objectionable cognomen when used to describe criminals or any negative social aspects. From time to time, editors fell back into their old ways, but upon representation there were usually appropriate apologies and promises to watch the editing process more carefully in the future.

Such incidents were few in the years before the World War, but increased again after the close of the hostilities. Perhaps it was the heightened tension of those years; perhaps the Jews were also more sensitive to inroads on their position.

When a paper referred to an alleged murderer as a "Russian Jew," the editor apologized and pointed to the past good record of his paper. A substitute, he said, had been on the job. The offensive statement was promptly retracted.<sup>5</sup> No such apology was forthcoming, however, when the University Alumni paper carried an offensive remark.<sup>6</sup> "Gentiles Only" or "Christian Clientele Preferred" were signs and advertisements seen more frequently everywhere. Minnesota was not immune to this discrimination. One hotel-keeper complained that if his place was opened to Jews all Gentiles would leave, and while he would not mind this, the Jews too would abandon his place in short order to seek out the newest place of fashion.<sup>7</sup>

When, in 1917, a publishing house had in its docket a quip on "Bankruptcy, Jewish prudence (jurisprudence), not inappropriate," no answer was received to the complaint.<sup>8</sup> When a year later, police and newspaper were approached with regard to using the word "Jew" in relation to arrests, it took some time before real progress was made, and the national office of B'nai B'rith was asked to help.<sup>9</sup>

Offensive statements were found in the advertising columns: "Furniture of three rooms for sale, complete house keeping outfit. Forty dollars if taken soon. No Jews or second-hand dealers need apply." Wrote Frankel to Chicago: "The *Dispatch* has promised

<sup>5</sup> Frankel Papers, box 35, file KL.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *B'nai B'rith News*, Nov. 1914, quoted by J. Higham, *PAJHS*, vol. XLVII, no. 1 (Sept. 1957), pp. 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, box 4, file 5; West Publishing Company *Docket*, St. Paul, 1917, p. 1818.

<sup>9</sup> Frankel Papers, box 4, file 5. Frankel, Loevinger and Milton P. Firestone were active in this matter.



often but offended occasionally.”<sup>10</sup> Particularly annoying was the bulletin of an insurance agency which printed this broadside: “Greek and Jewish risks will not be accepted to exceed \$50 a month.”<sup>11</sup> More stubborn than overt incidents were the overtones of prejudice. A report of the Association of Commerce, which had sent an investigator to study the West Side, had said: Many of the Jews who live here are junk dealers. This aggravates an apparent national tendency to have their ground covered with dirt, rubbish and other unsightly things.<sup>12</sup>

Then there were prejudicial books and films — but here the problem was more complex, for authors and producers lived elsewhere and could be approached only through national agencies. Occasionally, local distributors could be convinced of the harmfulness of the article they were handling. Thus, a novel, called *Those About Trench*, aroused much unfavorable discussion.<sup>13</sup> A film, “Their Mother,” was found most objectionable. St. Paul distributors were co-operative, but the opposite was reported in Minneapolis. However, Jonas Weil and Hiram D. Frankel convinced theatre owners to refuse showings. A humorous sidelight was provided in this case when the Chicago office of the Anti-Defamation League chided Frankel for his extravagance in spending \$1.17 on a telegram.<sup>14</sup> There were “Letters to the Editor” where prejudice could hardly be controlled even if it became nasty — as in the case of a Pole who wrote that he wanted to visit his native land, “but not until it is rid of the scheming and cheating Jews.”<sup>15</sup>

Shakespeare, too, came in for discussion. His *Merchant of*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, box 8, file 3, SPD, March 16, 1918, and SPPP, March 17, 1918.

<sup>11</sup> Banker's Casualty Company, *Bulletin*, May, 1918. This was not a new offense by the company, which had a long record of anti-Semitism; see AJW, Dec. 1, 1916 (editorial). Conversely, banks or other companies who had Jewish stockholders would make this fact known in the Jewish press (see SP, vol. I, no. 1 [Sept. 23, 1921], p. 10, for an advertisement by the Western State Bank).

<sup>12</sup> AJW, July 28, 1916. It is interesting to note that in a St. Paul Neighborhood House Survey (made in 1937, typescript in archives of Neighborhood House) of yard maintenance conditions among various nationalities, Jews had the fewest yards in the “C” category (the poorest, most dilapidated condition), but they were also low in the “A” (best) bracket. They were strongest in “B” (middle category). Their score resembled that of the German group. The Jewish score was: “A” — 26 percent; “B” — 56 percent; “C” — 18 percent. See also *infra*, chapter 40, p. 291, note 1.

<sup>13</sup> Frankel Papers, box 4, file 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, box 5, file 4.

*Venice* was believed to be harmful on school curricula.<sup>16</sup> Fortunately, there was no violence in Minnesota, but inter-group feeling was running higher and the language became sharper. There was talk of Jews as war-shirkers,<sup>17</sup> and Jewish names among the radicals gave rise to public comment. The Minneapolis press was a leading offender. In an editorial entitled "Our Intellectual Radicals" the writer asked:

Are Russians and Russian and German Jews and others besides psychologically unfit to be citizens of an Anglo-Saxon state or society?

Upon representation there was a reply from the editor.

I am sorry the editorial was expressed as it was. I was out of the city at the time and did not see the proofs, and due to an unfortunate circumstance my head reader failed to see this particular editorial. However, there is a thought underlying the statement that could well have been said.

There are great men coming out of these German and Russian Jews, but there is also a strong support amongst thousands of them of the Bolshevik and other radical and unsound principles. The same is true of native Russians. That was really what our writer was trying to get at, undoubtedly.<sup>18</sup>

Housing difficulties seemed to arise where they had not existed before. In the opinion of one observer in the immediate post-war period, it was "now worse than ever."<sup>19</sup> Some newspapers refused to take discriminatory rental ads, but others did not. "Semites and Chinese" was a common exclusion clause. Repeated objections did not seem to help. For the first time as far as Jews were concerned this brought possible legislative action into focus. Emanuel Cohen took the leadership in this new venture. He drew a bill, organized support for it, and saw it passed in 1919 as Chapter 188 of the Laws of Minnesota. It provided that all instruments relating to or affecting real estate were void if they stated hindrances to persons because of a specified religious faith.<sup>20</sup> This

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, box 4, file 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, referring to *MJ*, May 26, 1919.

<sup>19</sup> Isadore G. Goldbarg to Frankel, July 16, 1920 (see Frankel Papers, box 4, file 5).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, for a background of the bill which was introduced first as House File no. 913. In 1921, thought was given to a General Libel Bill.

did not solve the problem, of course; discrimination found other avenues of procedure. But it set a precedent for Minnesota's Jews by acquainting them with legislation as another tool which citizens of a democracy could wield to protect or enlarge their rights. Sometimes the discrimination to which objection was made turned out on investigation to be non-existent.<sup>21</sup> At other times it was felt that Jews themselves were guilty as in the case of a defeated Jewish candidate who publicly thanked his "Jewish voters" for their support.<sup>22</sup>

With the entrance of Henry Ford onto the scene of rabid anti-Semitism, Jews became extremely sensitive to all manifestations of bigotry. Prejudice itself was more openly expressed. There was a new thought now which many Jews and Christians alike began to cherish: "Don't talk about it—silence will do wonders." In support they quoted the indisputable experience that repetition of slander was tantamount to giving it wider circulation. There seemed to be more objectionable books and films than ever; and while sometimes companies recalled their product, matters usually had to be dealt with on the local level.<sup>23</sup> Still, the public knew less about Ford and his machinations than Jews feared it did. In St. Paul, at any rate, sales of Ford's *Dearborn Independent* were believed to be "practically nil."<sup>24</sup>

The rising anti-Catholic tide gave the Jews unexpected allies. In the days of the Russian Treaty abrogation there had been some feeling that Taft was using the Jews to play up to the Catholics and that the latter were generally very intolerant of Jews.<sup>25</sup> Now, however, the feeling prevailed that Jewish and Catholic interests were parallel, that because of St. Paul's large Catholic population the situation was automatically better there than in other Minne-

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, the case of the American Express Company, 1920 (Frankel Papers, box 4, file 5).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* See, for example, the movies "Heliotrope" and "Frontier of the Stars." Theatre owner Moses L. Finkelstein helped to cut out the offensive parts. There was also a movie called "Nothing to Think About"; and in Kate Dickonson Sweetser's *Ten Boys From History* (New York, 1910), a chapter was later re-written.

<sup>24</sup> Frankel Papers, box 4, file 5, statement by Frankel. On the background and influence of post-war anti-Semitism, and especially on Henry Ford, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 277 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Frankel Papers, box 35, file B.



sota communities. Frankel, in an optimistic appraisal of the situation, found the two religious groups to "have been going hand in hand working commercially, civically, spiritually and in every other way absolutely without friction."<sup>26</sup> Referring to the Ku Klux Klan mobs, Judge John W. Willis said that Jews, Roman Catholics and Negroes should "consider it a privilege to be designated by these vultures as objects of their wrath."<sup>27</sup>

That Jews themselves could contribute toward the alleviation of prejudice, was considered an axiom which was repeated with ever greater urgency by Jewish spokesmen. "Jews who persecute Jews" was an apt heading for an article which stressed the existence of Jewish bootleggers, debt-jumpers, public gamblers, and castigated boisterous behavior, abuses of insurance, sharp dealings and other missteps.<sup>28</sup>

On the whole, St. Paul's Jews had little reason to complain. Annoyances were there, but they were small, especially when one looked across the river and compared one's own tolerable position to the doubtful situation of the Jews in Minneapolis.

<sup>26</sup> Frankel to Anti-Defamation League, Jan. 3, 1921; *ibid.*, box 4, file 5.

<sup>27</sup> *SPPP*, Nov. 21, 1922.

<sup>28</sup> *B'nai B'rith Bulletin*, Lodge No. 157, vol. I, no. 5 (March 25, 1921).

## *Anti-Semitism*

MINNESOTA HAD been, since its early days, a state of many ethnic enclaves. There were communities on the Range where, as late as the First World War, Finnish was the predominant language. New Ulm had few citizens who did not speak or understand German, and in many urban and rural districts the Scandinavian element formed a predominant portion of the population. This was especially true in Minneapolis where Swedish and Norwegian speaking people abounded and where "foreignness" in the American nativist sense was no opprobrium. Yet it was in Minneapolis that anti-Jewish sentiment seemed to pervade the social structure.\* In 1922, Rabbi Maurice Lefkovits, an astute and long-time resident of the state, made this observation:

Minneapolis Jewry enjoys the painful distinction of being the lowest estimated community in the land so far as the non-Jewish population is concerned. And that is what I mean by "objective evaluation," — the evaluation of the Jewish community by the non-Jewish population of the city. In this respect, Minneapolis Jewry is way below par of the other communities in the land.<sup>1</sup>

Lefkovits, in support of this evaluation, emphasized the following: no purely social organization in Minneapolis welcomed Jews as members; no Jew belonged at that time to any city or country club; no Jews were solicited for the boat club or auto-

\* In discussing the nature of anti-Semitism in Minneapolis and St. Paul, chapters 38 and 39 draw on observations which, in point of time, go beyond the general scope of this book.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Charles I. Cooper, "The Jews of Minneapolis and Their Christian Neighbors," in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. VIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1946), p. 32. Cooper cites as source for the Lefkovits quotation a Sept. 1922 issue of *AJW*, but this reference could not be located.

mobile club; no further Jews were admitted into the Minneapolis Athletic Club; fraternal organizations were discriminating against Jews, and this included the Elks, the Blue Lodges of the Masonic Rite, and few Jews only were admitted to higher degrees in Masonry. Lefkovits knew of no Jew who belonged to Rotary, Kiwanis or the Lions Club, and he claimed that there was probably not a single Jewish teacher in any of the high schools of Minneapolis.<sup>2</sup> Finally, he found it passing strange that few Jews, if any, graced the civic commissions and committees of the community. Just how communities could be adequately compared in a really objective way when it came to hard-to-measure prejudices was a problem then as much as it was later. There was, however, an undeniable sentiment on the part of Jews that the Rabbi had described the situation correctly. This feeling was evidently not new. "The Jewish people never stood very high with the non-Jews" — a statement made in recollection<sup>3</sup> — was a sentiment shared by many Jews. There had been physical tension:

It was dangerous for any Jew to move above Fifth Street North, because the Irish and the Germans lived there. If we went into their neighborhood, they might start a fight and beat up any Jew, young or old, who was passing by.<sup>4</sup>

Yet it was not the cruder type of anti-Semitism which people had in mind when they spoke of Minneapolis. They looked to Jewish integration into the total community structure and found it deficient, especially when they compared it to St. Paul. They were aware of a silken curtain which lay between them and the larger society. It prevented that progress in cultural and social amalgamation which was considered an essential part of the American opportunity. Ghettoization, it was felt, was present in many ways, and it was not always self-imposed. There were too many sections where Jews could not rent or buy, too many organizations they could not enter, too many business areas they found closed

<sup>2</sup> This was an error. Mary C. Moses taught History at North High School, and Esther Friedlander taught Latin at South High School. At least five Jewish teachers were employed in elementary schools (I am indebted for this information to Mr. Samuel Scheiner who made a search of the 1922 Minneapolis school records).

<sup>3</sup> See A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 281; *supra*, chapter 35, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 46.



to them, too many voices which spoke of Jews in ill-disguised contempt. There were as yet no flagrant incidents which were to mar the Jewish-Gentile record in later years: no anti-Semitic leaflets; no preachers who peddled hate from their pulpits; no politicians who hoped to capitalize on anti-Jewish prejudices. Perhaps the harsh judgments later pronounced on the city did not yet fully apply immediately after the end of the First World War, but social diseases do not develop overnight. It is safe to assume that the basic causes of the deteriorated position which developed thereafter were already present. "I found almost no evidence of anti-Semitism in the Northwestern and West Central States," Selden C. Menefee wrote some years later, and then added: "Except in Minneapolis no one considered it a serious problem."<sup>5</sup> Anti-Semitism, he said, quoting a professional man of liberal viewpoint, was stronger in Minneapolis than anywhere he had ever lived. He reported that people of all groups would make the most blatant statements against Jews with the calm assumption that they were merely stating facts with which anyone could agree.<sup>6</sup> The most severe indictment was delivered by Carey McWilliams:

One might even say, with a measure of justification, that Minneapolis is *the capital of anti-Semitism in the United States*.<sup>7</sup>

His primary reason for labelling it with this opprobrium was the complete separation of the Jew from his environment, which McWilliams observed in many ways: from the precincts of the social elite to the ranks of the trade unions, from the service clubs

<sup>5</sup> Selden C. Menefee, "What Americans Think," *The Nation*, vol. CLVI, no. 22 (May 5, 1943), pp. 764-768.

<sup>6</sup> Selden C. Menefee, *Assignment: U. S. A.*, (New York, 1943), pp. 101-102.

<sup>7</sup> Carey McWilliams, "Minneapolis: The Curious Twin," *Common Ground*, vol. VIII, no. 1 (Autumn, 1946), pp. 61-65 (*italics added*). Reprinted by permission. It should be noted, however, that at the same time Charles I. Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 37, came to a quite different conclusion:

It is the opinion of this reporter that the Minneapolis general community is basically no more antagonistic to local Jews than other similar communities.

There is nothing to indicate that the Jewish community of Minneapolis today need be stamped as more unacceptable socially than and inferior to other Jewish communities in the Middle West.

Cooper did not dispute that Lefkovits' description of 1922 was accurate, nor did he deny an objectively unfavorable social position of the Jews of Minneapolis.

—where Jews were not accepted into Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions or even the Automobile Club—to the major industries where they were represented neither in the working force nor in management. This separation from the main stream of life, McWilliams believed, was not “a matter of recent origin; on the contrary, it seems to have always existed.”<sup>8</sup> He found the most striking aspect of anti-Semitism in Minneapolis to consist in the lack of significant Jewish participation in the dominant economic activities of the city. Jews did not figure as an important element in milling, lumbering, transportation, private utilities, banking, or insurance. Even in the field of department store merchandising they did not occupy the usual position of leadership. Despite the fact that a sizable Jewish community had existed in Minneapolis for many years, Jews had not acquired that economic position to which they had attained in other cities of approximately the same size.<sup>9</sup> On the other side of the “curtain” McWilliams found that the Jewish group had retreated into its own shell, was “highly introverted, bound up in a maze of purely Jewish activities.” As late as 1947, there was a disproportionately small number of Jews even in such relatively immune occupations as public school teaching. A total of nine Jewish teachers were found in elementary and four in secondary schools. The school system employed one Jewish clerk and three Jewish nurses.<sup>10</sup> Thirty percent of all principals were uncertain about or outright opposed to rectifying this inequality. While Gentile teachers themselves scored better on a survey, they still exhibited opinions which were hardly

<sup>8</sup> McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

For many years the Minneapolis Automobile Club maintained its exclusion policy, especially since it also owned a country club and thus was a social as well as a service organization. In the fall of 1957, the Automobile Club closed its country club facilities and some months thereafter the club's secretary, Hugh Craig, made the following telling statement:

I am very hopeful that some organization will be able to buy the property and dedicate it to youth or some good purpose of similar nature. I know that if any church became interested in it as a recreational center which, for instance, would include all groups—Catholic, Protestant, Jewish—on a joint basis, our trustees would certainly make a proposition over a long enough period to make it worthwhile for them to consider (*Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, Aug. 7, 1958, p. 13).

<sup>9</sup> C. McWilliams, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–62.

<sup>10</sup> Minneapolis Community Self-Survey of Human Relations (mimeographed, Minneapolis, 1948), vol. I, p. 5.

compatible with their high profession and which testified to long-harbored prejudices. Teachers who expressed such prejudicial sentiments made little distinction between Jews and Negroes, which was unusual even for a northern city.<sup>11</sup>

A teacher with fifteen years of experience in the school system was found to write:

No doubt it is the contention of your organization that the White Protestant majority is in some pernicious manner responsible for the moral incapacity of these two minorities to adjust to the standards of common decency. . . . Is it not possible that, if the two groups mentioned, namely the Jews and the Negroes, were to direct their educational endeavor toward their own improvement, they would be as readily accepted as are the Catholics, the Protestants, the Indian, the Mormon, the Finn, or any other nationality or religion in the United States.<sup>12</sup>

While in St. Paul Jewish doctors were accepted on the staffs of all hospitals, this was not the case in Minneapolis, where Gentile doctors themselves objected to close co-operation and consequently forced a limitation or elimination of Jews.<sup>13</sup> The score was worst in the employment field. More than sixty per cent of all concerns, retailing and manufacturing, which were polled, did not hire Jews as a matter of practice.<sup>14</sup> Even Jews themselves were affected by this nefarious procedure:

Some Jewish employers discriminate in employment against Jews in favor of white gentiles. This is not an abnormal phenomenon in the industrial pattern now prevailing. Jewish entrepreneurs tend to react in their business relations first as entrepreneurs and only secondary as Jews. Only the market-wide elimination of minority status per se as a factor in the choice of employees can eliminate this practice completely.<sup>15</sup>

It was generally believed that the pressure of anti-Semitism could already be observed in Jewish children. Gentile teachers listed the recurrent problems of Jewish students in this descending order of frequency:

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 10-12.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 43.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 2 of Health and Hospital Committee Survey.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 3 of Industry and Labor Committee Survey.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 40, note 2.



Fights and aggressive behavior;  
On the defensive;  
Self-isolation;  
Discipline;  
Act unbearingly superior;  
Victims of name-calling;  
Not integrated into total picture;  
No respect for authority.<sup>16</sup>

The only bright spot in the area of prejudice was the University which, as a state institution, had an initially sounder basis of social construction. Doctor Leo Rigler, Professor of Radiology, observed that there was a "striking difference between the attitude of the University of Minnesota and the city" in which it was located. "The lack of prejudice, the fairmindedness, the really democratic spirit of the university are so outstanding as to merit special recognition."<sup>17</sup> With special reference to the First World War era, Dr. Moses Barron recollected that at first there was little if any type of discrimination. Later on, it seemed to him, a peculiar *numerus clausus* developed at the Medical School. Many Jewish boys would apply, but only a portion would be admitted.

We discussed this with the Administration [he said]; and some of them admitted quite frankly to the practice and gave a number of rationalizations. The worst of it was that a number of high-placed Jewish citizens went to the University and — so I heard — encouraged them to restrict Jewish admissions. "Too many Jewish doctors will create trouble later on," they are said to have told the authorities. But up to about 1921 the situation was very good.<sup>18</sup>

The generally favorable position at the University contrasted sharply with the "Minneapolis problem" as Jews began to experience it. A community survey stated it this way:

We must first of all recognize the fact that tensions exist in Minneapolis between groups of different religious, racial and economic backgrounds. This inevitably affects the spiritual welfare of everybody.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted by A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>18</sup> Related by Dr. Moses Barron to the author on Dec. 26, 1955.

<sup>19</sup> Minneapolis Community Self-Survey, vol. III, p. 1 of the Religious Faiths and Denominations Committee Survey.

At the end of the First World War the whole problem was coming more sharply into focus. Racist thinking was brought to full flower by the fear of everything alien which the war had instilled in so many Americans. In the disguised struggle to defeat progressivism as well as internationalism, old prejudices were revived and were manipulated to divert patriotism into a new internal crusade. The older stock was warned how their Nordic race was being contaminated by mixture with lesser immigrant breeds whose physical and mental attributes as well as life goals were said to be alien to the American tradition.<sup>20</sup> Immigrants and minority groups close to the immigrant experience were bound to be affected by this challenge.

Having caught the fever of the rush to America [wrote Max Lerner], they were overeager and overtense. Everything in them was heightened; the love of freedom, the urge to "make good," the vulnerability to scorn, the anxiety to belong.<sup>21</sup>

Jewish leaders were thinking in terms of anti-defamation, apologetic literature and better public relations. They trusted in the long-term effects of education. They could not see then what a generation later could be viewed more clearly: that these means of combatting prejudice were insufficient. For the reasons which engendered prejudice lay deeply buried in the patterns of America as a whole and of the divers individual communities across the land.

<sup>20</sup> Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1952), p. 279.

<sup>21</sup> Max Lerner, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

## *The Curious Twins*

IT WOULD be quite erroneous to assume that, while in Minneapolis Jews were battering against the inroads of prejudice, St. Paul's Jews were enjoying a bonanza of complete acceptance. Nothing could be farther from the truth. By 1921, there were rigid social distinctions which divided the bulk of the Jewish population from its Gentile neighbors. There were wide business and employment opportunities which were closed to the Jews, and the minute attention given to anti-defamation by the local representatives of the defense organizations was proof of the existence as well as of their awareness of the problem.

Nonetheless, there was a general feeling that St. Paul was much better off than its "curious twin," as Carey McWilliams later called Minneapolis. "St. Paul," said Jesse Calmenson, "is undoubtedly freer of anti-Semitic feelings than many other communities of its size."<sup>1</sup> In contrast to Minneapolis' Jews whom McWilliams classified as "a depressed element in the population," the St. Paul Jewish community was "relatively free from the odious social restrictions and limitations . . . in Minneapolis."<sup>2</sup>

There were facts to bear out this difference. To begin with, Jews in St. Paul *felt* more accepted, and in this feeling alone lay some proof of objective facts. But there were other, measurable factors. While there was increasing social rigidity in St. Paul, it was not nearly as pronounced as in Minneapolis. Jews belonged to a number of social clubs, including the downtown Athletic Club, as well as to the service clubs. Their numbers were not large and often it was evident that there was a "Jewish quota";

<sup>1</sup> AJW, Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 77).

<sup>2</sup> C. McWilliams, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.



still, Jews belonged, and those who belonged were made welcome.<sup>3</sup> It was far from an ideal situation, but in comparison to Minneapolis and many other cities it was superior. In business too there was wider diversification in St. Paul than across the river. Jews were active in banking circles and even to some degree in heavy industry. Most conspicuous of all, they were prominent in positions of civic leadership, such as the presidency of the socially elite Red Cross or the Community Chest.

What were the reasons for this difference? A number of them have been advanced. Some rather naïvely put all the blame at Jewish doors in Minneapolis and gave all the credit for the superior position of St. Paul's Jews to the latter's own good behavior. Thus Frankel, in a sweeping generalization, stated his belief that lack of crime among the Jews in the Capitol City, a low divorce rate, fine charitable facilities and similar circumstances were primarily responsible for this situation.<sup>4</sup> Calmenson gave credit to both the Jewish and Gentile citizens and the noted integrity, civic-mindedness and high character of the Jewish community as a whole on the one hand, and a truly Christian broad-minded spirit on the other.<sup>5</sup>

But it is hard to believe that there were people in St. Paul who were innately finer, more liberal and "more truly Christian" than those who settled in Minneapolis. No statistics can be found to show a higher rate of divorce, crime or generally objectionable behavior on the part of Minneapolis' Jews, nor was personal integrity the sole possession of St. Paul's Jewry.

Other reasons have therefore been advanced which deal with basic differences in the structure of the communities themselves. A highly placed Minneapolis Jewish leader believed, for instance, that the early preponderance of the Jews in the liquor trade made them unacceptable to the Puritan and Scandinavian Protestant stock in Minneapolis and depressed their status from the very

<sup>3</sup>The Club never indulged in the practice of excluding the descendants of Jewish families, as was reported of the Minneapolis Club; see A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 44. At least one Jewish merchant, Benjamin C. Golling, was a Charter Member of St. Paul Rotary. At a time when Minneapolis did not accept Jews in its Automobile Club, St. Paul's section was headed by a Jew, Gustave Axelrod.

<sup>4</sup>See *supra*, chapter 37, p. 267.

<sup>5</sup>AJW, Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 77).

outset; while in St. Paul, even though some early Jewish settlers dealt in liquors, the Irish and Germans who predominated in the city attached no social stigma to this trade. This opinion was widely shared by representatives of the older families, and while it cannot be fully discounted it can only hint at more substantial reasons which lie behind this argument: the different national stratification of the two cities and the rate of growth of both the Jewish and general populations.

The "stratification thesis" was probably first suggested by Charles I. Cooper and thereafter developed more elaborately by Carey McWilliams and further ramified by Rabbi Albert I. Gordon.

Cooper, who served the Jewish Federation as Executive Director, emphasized the "exclusiveness of the pioneer settlers, the New Englanders. . . . They dominate the Minneapolis scene not only economically but culturally and politically as well." He further pointed to "the native clannishness of the Scandinavian section" and to the small proportion of Catholics who, unlike in other urban centers, failed to provide a counterbalance to an overwhelmingly European-Protestant population. He also noted the propaganda issuing from certain church quarters which encouraged the flowering of local Ku Klux Klan chapters.<sup>6</sup>

Although McWilliams by his own admission spent only a short time in the Twin Cities and based himself on small sample interviews, and although there were a few factual errors which crept into his article,<sup>7</sup> there was much in his basic approach which deserved careful study. He decried the oversimplifications of the so-called ethnocentric approach, which, basing itself on fundamental dislikes and fears of the unlike, could not possibly explain the different attitudes toward Jews in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Instead, McWilliams, quoting an unnamed Jewish lawyer, stressed the social origin of group antagonism and believed that further research into this area would be most instructive.

His thesis was comparatively simple. It took its starting point from the fact that Minneapolis grew more quickly than St. Paul

<sup>6</sup> C. I. Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, it is not true that St. Paul has had a Jewish mayor; and Montgomery Ward is not a "Minneapolis store."

and was settled by different nationality groups. It then went on to say:

When Minneapolis first began to surge forward as a thriving center of economic activity, "people from Maine" — migrating New England Yankees of Protestant Anglo-Saxon back-ground — were among the early arrivals and quickly acquired a strong grasp on the major industries of the community, a grasp which they continue to maintain. I was given an impressive listing of the long-dominant "first families" . . . With rare exceptions, the significant economic fields have remained the exclusive economic fields of these interrelated families . . . Arriving on the scene at a somewhat later date, the Scandinavians came to occupy the intermediate rung on the socio-economic ladder. While they have done well in agriculture, the trades, and the professions, and, of recent years, in politics, they have still not been able to penetrate the upper-upper social levels. . . .

From these facts McWilliams drew his tentative conclusion:

Here, then, is something like an explanation: A community in which a limited number of large scale industries constitute the backbone of the economic life of the area; early monopolization of the industries by a single tightly affiliated element in the population; and the use, by this element, of social, economic, and, later, political anti-Semitism, as a means of opposing any threat to their status, more particularly for the purpose of retaining a preferred social position.

Once established at the highest level of economic control, the pattern has sifted down and been repeated, by suggestion and imitation, at the middle class, lower class, and working class level. Thus the attitude towards Jews in Minneapolis reflects not so much an ethnocentric group judgment or even a judgment on individual behavior, but rather the status structure of the community itself.

Gordon agreed with this basic analysis,<sup>8</sup> but wished to make clear that anti-Semitism was not in itself a conscious means by which the dominant group attempted to maintain its preferred position. But, said he,

it is the author's belief that much of the responsibility for social anti-Semitism in Minneapolis must rest with the descendants of the New Englanders, who still set the patterns for the community. These people are, surely, not to be regarded as anti-Semites in any sense. They are

<sup>8</sup> C. McWilliams, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64. McWilliams, as well as A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-55, discuss, of course, the influence of events after 1921.



rather a self-contained and, one may even say, a self-sufficient class, unaware that the problem exists or, if aware, choosing rather to ignore it and go about their own affairs. Thus those groups and persons who are anti-Semitic for reasons theological, political, economic, or national are provided with the opportunity to carry on their anti-Semitic campaign, for the real leaders of the community appear not to be too concerned about the issue.<sup>9</sup>

The ascription of basic responsibility to the leading groups must be tempered, however, as John Higham has pointed out so persuasively, by the recognition that "discrimination can arise more or less simultaneously at every social level where a crush of applicants poses an acute problem of admission."<sup>10</sup> Discrimination, Higham showed, arises more often on those levels of the economic and social ladder whose members strive to reach the top, who have not as yet attained psychological security and who, therefore, feel most keenly the competition of other groups. Where the rate of a city's growth is constant, such inter-group competition will arise more slowly, but where it is explosive (as it was in Minneapolis), these conflicts are bound to find more pointed expression.

Indeed, the growth of the two cities reflected a significant difference. In the crucial years from 1865 to 1880, Minneapolis grew to ten times its size, while St. Paul increased but threefold.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 55. The additional statement that Scandinavians did not have much contact with Jews in the old countries, and that they therefore had strong theological prejudices, is not well taken. It should then be equally true for the large Irish settlement in St. Paul and have similar effects.

No note was taken here of the psychological factors underlying anti-Semitism. These have been studied both as individual and group phenomena. See the series *Studies in Prejudice*; especially Theodore W. Adorno and others, *The Authoritarian Personality* (Harper's: New York, 1950); Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder* (New York, 1950). See also Peretz Bernstein, *Jew-Hate as a Sociological Problem* (New York, 1951), and Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York, 1948). Sufficient research data are lacking to apply results of these studies to the problem under discussion, especially to the inter-connected patterns of anti-minority attitudes which link hatred of Jews to hatred of Negroes; see Max Lerner, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

<sup>10</sup> John Higham, "Social Discrimination Against Jews in America," *PAJHS*, vol. XLVII, no. 1 (Sept. 1957), pp. 1-33. The quotation appears on p. 11, note 29. Carey McWilliams set forth his thesis (that discrimination is greatly affected by the values which the top level group imposes) in *A Mask for Privilege* (Boston, 1948). This view was also held by Oscar Handlin, "The Acquisition of Political and Social Rights by the Jews of the United States," *AJYB*, 1955, vol. LIX, pp. 72, 74.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix I, *infra*, p. 317.

Quick growth of a community will often leave the early settlers in a most favored economic and political position. There was an important segment in the Minneapolis population which came from the New England states. This element was much smaller in St. Paul. Specifically, the distribution in 1880 was as follows:

The native New England stock in Minneapolis was about 6,000 or 12.8 percent, while in St. Paul it was 2,000 or only 4.8 percent. (By 1930 these percentages had fallen to the near-vanishing point, but by that time community structures had already become fixed).

The stock from the middle Atlantic geographic division (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania) was more evenly divided—10.7 percent for Minneapolis and 7.2 percent for St. Paul.<sup>12</sup> This figure points to a significant difference between the two populations at the end of the cities' formative stages. It is this area background which must be kept in mind, not American nativity as such; for in the latter respect the communities showed little difference.<sup>13</sup> We may assume, therefore, that the basic patterns were as McWilliams outlined them; and in fact New England names predominated in the leadership class of Minneapolis more than they did in St. Paul.<sup>14</sup>

But this was only a minor part of the story. There were a number of additional facets which McWilliams did not have an opportunity to study. Group cohesion cannot express itself fully unless it is also supplemented by geographic concentration. We may assume that the upper social level was largely congruous with that group which was not only native-born but also of native parentage. In 1930, that is, shortly after the close of the period under consideration, Minneapolis showed this population group to be heavily represented in large areas pointing south and west, especially south of Lake Harriet and Lake Nokomis. These became in effect restricted areas, and such geographic exclusion

<sup>12</sup> C. Schmid, *op. cit.*, chart 70 ("Native Born Population, Geographic Division of Birth, Minneapolis: 1880 to 1930,"), p. 139, and chart 71 (*idem*, "St. Paul: 1880 to 1930,"), p. 140.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, chart 66 ("Trends in Color and Nativity, Minneapolis and St. Paul: 1890 to 1930"), facing p. 131.

<sup>14</sup> Cf., for example, the professional and large business rosters in the early directories of the two communities. A sampling taken from MB showed the same tendency.

at once tended to reinforce other types of stratification. In St. Paul, however, such heavy concentration of "native whites of native parentage" existed only in two small areas, near the Town and Country Club by the river and in the St. Anthony Park area. For the larger part of the community the living pattern showed much less stratification than in Minneapolis.<sup>15</sup>

It has long been recognized that geographic proximity is an essential factor in perpetuating cultural distinctions in their old-world forms, with all the consequences which such segregation has for the group itself and for the community structure at large. There are many factors which are operative in bringing people together which continue to function in preserving these groups. The permanence of such a community is determined by home ownership, location and equipment of community institutions, loyalty and sentimental attachment to a given locality, inertia, and by such other factors as desirable physical setting, satisfactory transportation facilities and internal social unity. Finally, and not the least important, is the difficulty or ease with which other groups can "invade" the area:

In the areas of immigrant settlement the ties holding the various communities together are accentuated by the strangeness of the outside world. The dependence of the immigrant upon his social institutions, his church or synagogue, his foreign language, his particular food requirements and the social relationships of his own group all tend to give permanence to such communities . . ." <sup>16</sup>

It is most instructive to note that these cohesive geographical factors operated much more strongly in Minneapolis than in St. Paul. With the exception of the areas immediately adjoining downtown, the foreign born population was well distributed throughout St. Paul, while segregation (or self-segregation) of immigrants was operative on a much more intensive scale in Minneapolis.<sup>17</sup> In St. Paul, foreign born families had branched out into distinctly middle class areas which, in Ernest Mowrer's

<sup>15</sup> See C. Schmid, *op. cit.*, chart 89 ("Native White of Native Parentage: Minneapolis, 1930"), p. 165, and chart 90, (*idem*, "St. Paul: 1930"), p. 166. See also his analysis of these differences (p. 167).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, see chart 72 ("Foreign Born White Population, Minneapolis: 1930"), p. 142, and chart 73 (*idem*, "St. Paul: 1930"), p. 143.



terms, were “equalitarian” in character: responsibility for the home was divided between man and wife. In Minneapolis, on the other hand, the foreign born still clustered in lower class “paternal” areas, where the home authority of the father was unchallenged.<sup>18</sup> Since paternal areas make for segregation and equalitarian areas for integration, it would follow that in St. Paul the foreign population as a whole—not merely the Jewish group—had a much better opportunity for social integration than in Minneapolis.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the lowered cultural cohesion pattern in St. Paul, it chanced that as late as 1930 it had a greater number of people who were unable to speak English,<sup>20</sup> which made “foreignness” less of an opprobrium there than in Minneapolis. In addition, St. Paul had quite a percentage of German settlers (though they were not concentrated residentially), and the city was characterized by a high evidence of the German language which created a natural bond between the early Jewish and German settlers.<sup>21</sup>

A further essential factor of differentiation lay in the religious background of the settlers. This can be gathered with some degree of accuracy from the tables of national origin. In 1930, fifty

<sup>18</sup> Ernest Russell Mowrer, *The Family, its Organization and Disorganization* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 187–193, cites five areas which make up the spatial pattern of a large community: (1) “non-family” areas, adjoining the industrial or business district; (2) “emancipated” areas, with rooming houses, kitchenette apartments, residential hotels; (3) “paternal” areas, lower economic and immigrant groups, where the husband plays a dominant role; (4) “equalitarian” areas, middle class, with few children and divided authority of husband and wife; (5) “maternal” areas, the commuter class, with single dwellings and home ownership.

<sup>19</sup> The German-born population was a case in point. In St. Paul it was widely distributed, while in Minneapolis, in 1895, it clustered on the Northeast side (11½ percent) and the North and lower North Side (9 percent)—but otherwise was found in small numbers only. See C. Schmid, *op. cit.*, chart 86 (“German Born Population, Minneapolis: 1895–1930”), p. 161, and chart 87 (*idem*, “St. Paul: 1895–1930”), p. 162; see also chart 75 (“Unemployment, Minneapolis: 1934”), p. 145, for a more generalized picture.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>21</sup> Persons born in Germany	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
St. Paul.....	17,000	14,000	14,000	9,000	7,500
Minneapolis ....	8,000	7,500	5,000	6,500	6,000

(From C. Schmid, *op. cit.*, charts 86 and 87, pp. 161–162).

percent of Minneapolis' foreign born came from Scandinavian countries, and they were overwhelmingly Protestant Lutherans. If one assumes all Canadians and fifty percent of all Germans to have been Catholic,<sup>22</sup> Minneapolis would have then had a Catholic population of no more than twenty-eight percent at most. St. Paul was more diversified; it had more East Europeans and a total Catholic population of about forty-one percent—a figure approaching the midway mark of numerical equality.

Ever since the early nativist and anti-Catholic days the Catholic group displayed marked signs of minority psychology, with all its attending features of theological and social apologetics.<sup>23</sup> In Minneapolis, the Catholic group never grew large enough to threaten the supremacy of the majority, but in St. Paul it became evident at an early time that near-equality would some day be achieved. This had two consequences: it prevented the majority Protestant group from exercising permanent exclusion policies and it brought Catholics and Jews more closely together. It should not be surprising therefore that in a latter-day Minneapolis survey, when school principals were asked about the necessity of intergroup education, thirty-six percent more public than parochial school principals replied in the affirmative relative to the Jewish problem. Catholic leaders did not feel the need as urgently as did the Protestants.<sup>24</sup>

Furthermore, the traditional separation of the Lutheran church and its theology from public life, and the vigorous participation of such Catholic leaders as Archbishop John Ireland and Ignatius Donnelly in civic affairs, created differing climates of diverse group participation and, consequently, group integration.<sup>25</sup>

To sum up: The general community structures in Minneapolis and St. Paul differed significantly in a number of ways:

<sup>22</sup> Germany had only about 30 percent Catholics; but emigration from heavily Catholic southern and industrialized western Germany was always relatively high, so that a 50 percent ratio may not be too far from the facts.

<sup>23</sup> See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Minneapolis Community Self-Survey, vol. I, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> This point is also made by C. McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 62: "[The Lutherans'] non-participation in civic affairs as an organized group has created a kind of vacuum which makes possible the continuance of an anti-Semitic pattern." See also the quotation from A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, *supra*, note 9.

1. In their rate of growth;
2. In the ratio of top New England stock;
3. In their composition of nationality and language groupings;
4. In their geographical cohesion and exclusion quotients;
5. In their Catholic-Protestant ratios and relationships.

But to these must be added those aspects peculiar to the Jewish group itself. Attention was already called to the prominent German culture pattern which existed in St. Paul in the second stage of its growth, a pattern into which the German Jews fitted excellently, as they did in other similar communities. Cincinnati's and San Francisco's integration patterns closely parallel that of St. Paul.

Of even greater moment was the time of Jewish arrival in the Twin Cities. Jews came early to St. Paul. They grew with the community, they lived there when no social or national exclusion of any kind was practiced. The diary of Amelia Ullmann revealed no sense of separation, and the acceptance of men like Noah and Elfelt was complete in every respect. When social separation did set in it did not assume rigid extremes, but always left a wide area of social and particularly civic interplay.

In Minneapolis, on the other hand, Jews arrived comparatively late. The city had been established as a shipping and manufacturing center with a large industrial potential. When it began to become a trade center also, Jews started to settle there, but at that time many social and civic patterns had already been set. When a few years later the Russian and Rumanian Jewish ghettos materialized very suddenly, they abutted, at least in part, on an upper-middle class neighborhood. "A head-on collision ensued."<sup>26</sup>

In St. Paul, during its two formative stages from 1849 to 1865 and from 1865 to 1880, Jews were not only present but were represented by a culturally homogeneous and civically highly acceptable group of German Jews. This group remained the representative front for the Jewish community until the end of the World War. It represented status, prestige and pioneer tradition as well as established wealth—prerequisites for top-level

<sup>26</sup> John Higham, "Social Discrimination, etc." *loc. cit.*, p. 26.



social acceptance. Its members lived interspersed with the rest of the socio-economic class to which they belonged. The German group in Minneapolis had occasional representatives who occupied similar vantage points, but as a group St. Paul's German Jews had higher status. It was no accident that St. Paul's Rabbi Rypins devoted a considerable amount of his time and effort toward further improvement of Jewish-Gentile relationships, while Minneapolis' Rabbi Deinard concentrated on internal Jewish affairs. The consequent greater response of Minneapolis Jews to Jewish education and Zionism was a natural result of the more highly introverted structure of its Jewish community. Even its top layer lived in more or less identifiable areas in the city.<sup>27</sup> The "civic-mindedness" of St. Paul Jewry, of which Calmenson spoke,<sup>28</sup> had identifiable sociological roots.

There was one last element which may be assumed to have played its role in this social drama. This was the number of important St. Paul Christian families who became related to the Jewish community. The number of Jews in St. Paul who intermarried was perhaps not much larger than elsewhere—if larger at all—but the entrance of Jewish descendants into the leading circles showed an unusually high incidence. The Jewish community probably had little inclination to feel beholden to those who left its ranks, but it is a matter of objective record that, at least in St. Paul, some of those who by chance or design became marginal Jews in the early days made the word "Jew" more acceptable in the policy-setting upper Gentile class.<sup>29</sup> The curious twins had many characteristics of their own. It is not without merit to note the influence which the most assimilated Jewish elements of St. Paul had on the very community from whom they attempted to divorce themselves.

<sup>27</sup> See C. Schmid, *op. cit.*, charts 79 and 80.

<sup>28</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 77).

<sup>29</sup> Among the St. Paul families which fell into this category were the Auerbach (Rice), Sommers, Mannheimer, Oppenheimer, West, Kalman, and other families.

## *After The War*

THE FACE of the community was changed when the First World War was over. People found that "normal times" in the pre-war sense would never return. There was a surge of optimism which even the 1920 depression could not shake. The children of yesterday's immigrants had worn American uniforms and had brought home a new spirit of communal togetherness. Even the old neighborhoods looked different. St. Paul's West Side and Minneapolis' North Side were still the hub of traditional life. Here lived the first generation of immigrant settlers and those of their children who had not yet started to move away in appreciable numbers. An observer noted:

The shabby grocery stores and butcher shops, which were tucked away in small corners of homes and buildings, have vanished, and large up-to-date grocery establishments, butcher shops, dry good stores, soft drink and confectionary parlors, movie houses, and drug stores have sprung up.

The low-structural houses, or so-called "shanties" which lined the streets in the "old days" have disappeared. Large modern houses, with all the conveniences necessary, supplant these.<sup>1</sup>

Here, Yiddish was still the predominant language. Most of the American-raised children understood it and could speak it to some degree. Peddlers were fewer in number; many still belonged to the classification of laborer, but the number of merchants was going up, and the professional group was increasing.<sup>2</sup> The days of the 1893 depression, when people had worn burlap and rags and section workers had gotten all of \$25.00 a month were gone.

<sup>1</sup> AJW, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 55), article by Jack Makiesky, "The Development of the West Side, St. Paul."

<sup>2</sup> St. Paul Neighborhood House, Minute Book, 1930 (in Archives of Neighborhood House), occupation analysis.

Gone were the days of the Jewish lamplighter who would leave his streets in the dark on Sabbath and holy day.<sup>3</sup> The rate of non-citizenship among the older immigrants was high, but on the average much lower than in comparable groups in the neighborhood, such as the Germans and Poles. Inter-marriage was almost non-existent; Jews accounted for less than two percent of all religious inter-marriages in a district which was heavily Jewish in composition.<sup>4</sup>

At the other end of the social scale the movement into new neighborhoods, which had started in the last decade of the old century, was now complete. A certain temporary stability had been achieved. Even so, there were enough of the upper stratum to follow the general trend toward the farther reaches of the city. In St. Paul, a typical sampling of confirmation classes at Mount Zion shows Lexington Avenue to have been the western limit before the War, while six years later a sizable number had reached Fairview and even Cleveland Avenues. These were the first indications of the next great shift which was to come: the movement of West Side and Lower Town into the Hill district.<sup>5</sup>

The top group had its own social facilities. St. Paul had its Northwood and Minneapolis its newly founded Oak Ridge Country Club, but they were country clubs and still left the need for town clubs unfilled.<sup>6</sup> The old Standard Club in St. Paul had finally disappeared. Its end was hastened by the building of the new St. Paul Athletic Club to which the group which had supported the Standard Club found general access. The urgency for social facilities in the city itself was therefore much greater in Minneapolis where such an outlet was not available to the

<sup>3</sup> Recollections of Mr. Martin Bimberg, Los Angeles (1955), who was a lamplighter in St. Paul at that time.

<sup>4</sup> St. Paul Neighborhood House Survey (typescript), *op. cit.* According to Benjamin Sommers, *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 55), between 90 and 95 percent of those visiting Neighborhood House were Jewish.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Membership Book, Mount Zion, 1902, MZA; *AI*, May 29, 1913, which lists confirmants at 355 Edmund, 568 Farrington, 109 Lexington, 845 Lincoln, 534 Capitol Blvd., 268 Kent, 1090 Reaney. In 1919, the listings read: 854 Linwood, 157 Kent, 1775 Marshall, 2052 Summit, 688 Holly, 838 Lincoln, 148 Summit, 1576 Summit, 1855 Summit, 135 Western, 719 Grand, 883 Fuller, 707 St. Anthony, 1129 Portland, 1067 Goodrich, 81 So. Victoria, 620 Ashland, 1569 Ashland, 845 Lincoln, 1025 Laurel; see *AI*, May 29, 1919.

<sup>6</sup> On the background and organization of these clubs, see *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 54).



Jewish leadership group. Here, the formation of a Jewish town club took place at the very same time when in St. Paul the Standard Club was in its final stages of existence. The Minneapolis venture had modest beginnings and found its early support in the middle income group which organized in 1908 "to develop, quicken and perpetuate the highest of Jewish ideals and the spirit of American patriotism." The club had taken the name "Gymal Doled," the third and fourth letters of the Hebrew alphabet, while "Aleph Beth" was the name of a similar and at first quite successful undertaking in St. Paul.<sup>7</sup> In time the Gymal Doled Club would be strengthened while the Aleph Beth Club would be further weakened and then disappear: for in St. Paul a permanently flourishing Jewish town club proved impossible since the needs of the top group were otherwise provided for. In Minneapolis where no such integration with the non-Jewish environment existed the eventual development of a strong and prosperous Jewish town club was a sociological probability.<sup>8</sup>

Of course, there were other social needs to be met than those to which town or country clubs were the response. A new generation had grown up for whom the facilities of the settlement house were no longer sufficient. The young householders were thinking of creating their own recreational environment and were finding support in wide circles. In both Minneapolis and St. Paul, such undertakings sprang up at the same time. They were drawing on various age levels and, even more important, were finding sponsorship amongst various social layers. Emanuel Cohen took a

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Duluth later called its club Hay Vov, after the fifth and sixth letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Minneapolis' Gymal Doled Club participated widely in Zionist and in war service activities, and, since it had much wider support in the upper brackets than the Aleph Beth Club in St. Paul, became a considerable force in the community. For full details of its origins, see *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937 (p. 30). Benjamin Goldman was the Club's first President. The Club absorbed, in the course of time, the Pro-anoret, Ampliora and Atlas Clubs. The latter was organized in 1908 and, before its dissolution, located at 711 Sixth Avenue; see *AJYB*, 1916-1917 (5677), p. 264; *AJW*, May 12, 1916.

In St. Paul, the Aleph Beth Club was a business men's organization which had its quarters in various downtown locations. It had been founded in 1910 by a group of high school and college students; see *SPPP*, July 17 and 18, 1921; *AJW*, Sept. 10, 1920. There had also been an Aurora Club, founded in 1908; see *AI*, April 17, 1913. See also Aleph Beth *Bulletin* (May, 1922) and Aleph Beth-Gymal Doled *Excursion* (Aug. 16, 1914), pp. 10-11 for organizational details.

<sup>8</sup> In later years the name of the Club, after much discussion, was changed to Standard Club.

leading interest in the Minneapolis plans and eventually bequeathed a large sum to the project. The Calmenson family in St. Paul helped to turn vague plans for a Jewish Center into concrete channels by making a handsome initial gift to it in memory of their pioneer parents.<sup>9</sup>

There was an increase in social rapprochement between the older and the new communities, between East and West. It was attended, as everywhere else in America, by the rise to prominence of the new immigrants' children, who adapted themselves more easily to the new ways, who accepted new life goals and were eager to merge themselves with the new environment. Their rise in the social order often created a gap between themselves and their parents, adding thus to that experience of the older immigrant which Oscar Handlin called the shock of alienation.<sup>10</sup> Some years later a sociologist described this new alignment sarcastically (but not without some measure of truth), when he wrote of Minneapolis Jews of the early 20's:

As to the German . . . Jews, they were, relatively, at a social disadvantage. The already well-established young Russian or Rumanian Jews quickly acquired a veneer of breeding which made them quite undistinguishable from the onetime aristocrats of the community. And what was just as important, if not more so, they had money. Young Russian Jews who found synagogue services too tedious and Orthodox for their liking, joined the Temple. Some, it was rumored, did so to gain social prestige.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Before the First World War, the young people in Minneapolis had been organized into such groups as the Young Men's Hebrew Association, Deborah Society, Hatikwah Club and Ner Tamid (see *AJW*, July 30, 1915). In 1917, on Feb. 7, the founding meeting of a YMHA was held at the Talmud Torah, and shortly thereafter a YWHA group was formed. For details and personnel, see *AJW*, Feb. 16 and March 2, 1917. Emanuel Cohen died in 1920.

A Young Men's Hebrew Association in St. Paul was organized early in 1918 (for personnel and details see *AJW*, Sept. 13, 1918); but already in 1916, Abe and Jesse Calmenson had gathered a number of people together who were interested in building a center, and they received sufficient support for architect's plans to be submitted. For details and the names of those participating, see *AJW*, April 14, Aug. 4 and Nov. 17, 1916. The project was suspended because of the war, and later delayed because of drives for War Relief, Keren Hayesod and the Home for the Aged.

<sup>10</sup> Oscar Handlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff.; Max Lerner, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Roy Billington, *op. cit.*, p. 629.

<sup>11</sup> Jessie Bernard, "Biculturalism, etc.," *loc. cit.*, pp. 274-275. On the nature of Bernard's article, see *supra*, chapter 16, p. 114, note 11.

The older generation looked with doubt and misgiving on this "defection" and criticized the younger generation whose expensive automobiles could be seen in front of the Jewish delicatessen store on Sunday nights, where they bought the old-fashioned delicacies which their socially conscious wives had banished from their regular dietaries.<sup>12</sup> When Oak Ridge Country Club, the observer stated, was organized by the "exclusive Jews," it was the German Jews who furnished the leadership and the social prestige, but it was very largely the Russian and Rumanian Jews who contributed the money.<sup>13</sup>

Generous giving for capital and relief purposes was becoming a significant aspect of post-war community life. It was made even more significant through the appearance of a new class of large-scale givers: the first and second generation of East European Jews who were beginning to come fully into their own.<sup>14</sup>

The cornerstone was laid for the Home for the Aged, the Jewish Charities moved to change its name, St. Paul's lower town had a new Community-Chest-supported center which primarily served the Jews and which was looking to the acquisition of its own permanent quarters.

B'nai B'rith was the leading organization of the men—in 1920 over one hundred joined the St. Paul Lodge alone—and during the next year Minneapolis Lodge doubled its membership. Was this due to the leadership of Joseph Schanfeld, a commentator asked, or to the pressure of anti-Semitism?<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, the once large and prosperous B'rith Abraham lodges were dying. Dissension in the Grand Lodge and factiousness on the local scene sounded the death knell for the Order's prestige in the community.<sup>16</sup>

The National Council of Jewish Women was greatly enlarging its basis. No longer was it the property of the German Jews. Its

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, the bequests of Mary T. Goldman to the Home for the Aged and to Keren Hayesod; and the various gifts of the Leon Salets to the Home, the Center and relief campaigns.

<sup>15</sup> Rabbi C. David Matt in *AJW*, Sept. 10, 1920.

<sup>16</sup> See the story of the withdrawal of Minneapolis City Lodge No. 63, Order B'rith Abraham, from the Grand Lodge, *AJW*, Oct. 14, 1921 (p. 13); also article by Benjamin Bial in *SP*, vol. I, p. 1 (Sept. 23, 1921), p. 8.



meetings were now held in various institutions. Its program had broadened to include other than exclusively Jewish goals; it participated in peace meetings, League of Nations work and general community activities. In Minneapolis, the section maintained two Sunday religious schools on the North Side. The chapter's members could enjoy the unusual event of seeing mother and daughter succeed each other in the presidency—but in reversed order: it was Mrs. Henry Weiskopf, one of the early members, who followed her daughter, Mrs. Maurice Wolff, in the chair.<sup>17</sup>

Famous personalities came to town: Rabbi Meyer Berlin, Sholom Asch and Cantor Joseph Rosenblatt, the latter on a repeat visit,<sup>18</sup> the poet Philip Raskin and the playwright David Pinski, Zionist leaders Nahum Sokolow and Vladimir Jabotinsky—the latter with fiery stories of the exploits of the Jewish Legion.<sup>19</sup>

Rabbi Abraham M. Heller of the Talmud Torah Social Service Department was readying himself to take on the leadership of Beth El, the new North Side Conservative synagogue. The differential development of the Conservative synagogues was beginning to become apparent. Adath Jeshurun and Temple of Aaron, the two congregations which had moved physically alongside the Reform temples exhibited more and more liberal trends, while Beth El and Duluth's Adas Israel retained stronger traditional coloring.

Zionist work received tremendous impetus with the approval of the British Mandate and throughout the state Zionism registered significant advances. A visit of Rabbi Louis I. Newman of New York in 1920 corralled not only Jewish sentiment throughout

<sup>17</sup> On Council affairs see, for example, *AI*, April 22, 1915, March 13 and June 5, 1919, and *MZM*, Nov. 7, 1921.

<sup>18</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 30, 1921 (p. 17). Rosenblatt had visited the year before, *AJW*, Sept. 10, 1920.

<sup>19</sup> Jabotinsky came with Col. John H. Patterson and Prof. Otto Warburg to plead for the Palestine Restoration Fund. They were received at the Governor's office (*SPPP*, Dec. 31, 1921; Jan. 1, 1922). The *SPD* gave them front page publicity with a large picture (*SPD*, Jan. 3, 1922, showing them with Joseph Levy, fund leader). The *SPDN* gave the event an editorial (Jan. 4, 1922). The mass meeting produced a number of \$1,000 gifts; they came from the Finberg Brothers, Sol Fligelman, Philip Greenberg, Barney W. Harris, William B. Harris, Harry Harris, Joseph Levy, and the Paper-Calmenson Company. Jabotinsky came again the following year (*AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922, p. 16) and so did Jacob de Haas (*SPPP*, Aug. 10 and 13, 1922, and *SPD*, Aug. 10, 1922).

the state, but had also a decided effect on the general acceptance of the idea. Churches were put at Newman's disposal, and in addition to the big cities he visited Virginia, Chisholm, Hibbing, Eveleth and Superior. He addressed non-Jewish gatherings at such diverse places as the Athletic Club in St. Paul, the Dyckman Hotel in Minneapolis, and the First Unitarian Church in Duluth.<sup>20</sup> A new voice was heard to speak for Zion: young Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver who exhorted his listeners with great power of oratory.<sup>21</sup> Public endorsement of Zionism was often generous. The restoration of Palestine was acclaimed editorially as "a wonderful thing, fulfilling the words of the prophets and probably marking the beginning of the end of an oppression that is ages old."<sup>22</sup>

Duluth Jewry searched its soul when the city was thrown into moral confusion during the lynching of three Negroes. The Jewish community had remained silent, and its leaders were wondering about the value of buildings and organizations when Jews had failed in the face of a real challenge.<sup>23</sup> Duluth's Bernard Silberstein had succumbed at the age of seventy-four; and in St. Paul, the generation of the Isidor Roses, Ben Baers, Bessie Marks, and Moses Calmensons was now increasingly mentioned in the necrology columns. But others were taking their place. There were men like Edward A. Silberstein, Abraham B. Kapplin, Charles Oreckowsky, Dr. Samuel Gross, Sam B. Copilowich and Hyman Y. Josephs in Duluth; Solomon Bublick and Solomon Sax on the Range; in Minneapolis men like Maurice Wolff, Jonas Weil, Arthur Brin, Joseph Schanfeld and Dr. George Gordon were the voices to whom the community now listened; and there were

<sup>20</sup> *AI*, Feb. 19, 1920; *SPD*, Jan. 3, 1920.

<sup>21</sup> *SPPP*, Aug. 23, 1922.

<sup>22</sup> *SPDN*, May 2, 1920. Large-scale advertisements began to appear, listing public figures, headed by Gov. Joseph A. A. Burnquist, as supporters of the cause, and finding Reform Jews also aligned with it; *SPDN*, May 5, 1920. See also *SPPP*, Dec. 15, 1920 (p. 8) for a report on a meeting addressed by Nathan Krass and Julius Rosenwald, at Mt. Zion Temple.

<sup>23</sup> Dr. Samuel Gross in *AJW*, Sept. 10, 1920. On other Duluth material for this time, see *ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1919 (pp. 48 ff.); Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 83). General Survey Material: *AJYB*, 1919-1920 (5680), pp. 406-407 (Duluth); 407-408 (Minneapolis); 408-409 (St. Paul); *ibid.*, 1921-1922 (5682) p. 253 (Duluth); *AJW*, Sept. 26, 1919, Sept. 10, 1920 (pp. 63-65, 72 and 79-80), Sept. 30, 1921; Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 16), and Sept. 3, 1937.

young men like Isadore Samuel Joseph and Moses Barron, just returned from France, whose names became increasingly familiar to Twin Cities Jewry. Over in St. Paul, Jesse Calmenson, Milton P. Firestone and Sol Fligelman were symbolic of the type of leadership now coming into command: less parochial in their approach to Jewish problems than the generation they were succeeding, more understanding of the differing philosophies which animated Jewish life, more conscious of the great potential which a unified community possessed.<sup>24</sup>

Deinard, with the help of Leo Frisch, had established the *American Jewish World* as the voice of his community. The broadly liberal approach of the journal was maintained despite the founder's strong convictions: "We do not hesitate to say," he wrote, "that the religion of the American Jew can be nothing else but a liberal form of Judaism as is exemplified by the Reform synagogue."<sup>25</sup> Yet the same paper would have another editorial voice chastise the Central Conference of American Rabbis or plead for the observance of the mourning days in the *Sefirah*.<sup>26</sup>

There were some who felt that the Yiddish-reading public did not have a proper medium of expression and that Minnesota could support a Yiddish journal of its own. The *Shabbosdige Post* [*Saturday Post*] made its appearance in 1921, but soon shifted to an English-Yiddish journal. Even so, it could not sustain itself and ceased publication after three years.<sup>27</sup> Those who read Yiddish subscribed to the Chicago and New York dailies.

Jewish books were available, but fewer people bought them. American Jews celebrated the publication of the English Bible translation—the Jewish Publication Society edition—yet there

<sup>24</sup> Biographical information on some of the leadership is found in WWAJ, 1926; also Hennessy, *op. cit.*, whose selection does not, however, proceed from an evaluation of the Jewish community. Only a few, like the Duluthian Edward A. Silberstein, son of Bernard, were already included in *BoM*, pp. 465–466, at the century's turn.

<sup>25</sup> AJW, June 28, 1918.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, April 12 and 18, 1919, articles by Conservative Rabbis C. David Matt and Philip Kleinman.

<sup>27</sup> It began publication on Sept. 23, 1921, and listed Dr. I. W. Marcus as editor. It bore a Minneapolis and St. Paul dateline and hoped to combine "Jewish ideals with true Americanism." From March 13, 1923, on it had an English supplement, and from Sept. 7, 1923, on it was an evenly balanced English-Yiddish paper.



were fewer than 150 subscribers to the Jewish Publication Society in all of Minnesota.<sup>28</sup> Only at the University were there greater indications of Jewish cultural interest; there, the Menorah Society and other Jewish cultural, Zionist and religious groups were in existence.<sup>29</sup>

Many an East European immigrant still looked at the Reform synagogue as the portal to outright conversion. Others were viewing the spreading custom of name-changing with concern and considered it a serious threat to Jewish identification. Every one agreed that the war had levelled many differences; and while few would go as far as Duluth's Edward A. Silberstein who asserted that antagonisms between Reform and Orthodoxy, Zionists and anti-Zionists had become unimportant, there appeared to be a feeling that the great conflict had been a "solidifying influence."<sup>30</sup> It had marked the climax of an era of growing apart and growing together, and this era was now coming to a close.

<sup>28</sup> AJW, March 23, 1917; AJYB, 1917-1918 (5678), pp. 590-591, gives fourteen subscribers for Duluth; seventy for Minneapolis; twenty-six for St. Paul; and a few others for outstate communities.

<sup>29</sup> On the Menorah Society, see MZM, vol. V, p. 191 (March 7, 1915); on other organizations, see AJYB, 1929-1930 (5690), p. 245.

<sup>30</sup> Edward A. Silberstein in AJW, Sept. 26, 1919, pp. 48 ff. On name-changing, see A. I. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-320.

*Era's End*

IN VARYING degrees the three major communities emerged from the war with altered patterns of internal organization. The old German-Jewish group was still in a position of command, but others now came to contest it. As if to demonstrate that an era had ended and that the stage was being set for new developments, the leadership of the top group experienced a complete change at one stroke. History does not admit of coincidence as a determining factor; but surely the year 1921 must be set down as a year which symbolized for the Jews of Minnesota a watershed of time.

In that one year the three Reform Rabbis of the state, who together had served for more than fifty years, left the scene of their activity. Rypins of St. Paul and Lefkovits of Duluth resigned their pulpits and left the rabbinate; and Providence itself took a hand when Samuel Deinard of Minneapolis was stricken on *Yom Kippur*, as the holiest of days was ushered in.

Rypins was the dean of Minnesota's rabbinate. He had served since 1899 and his resignation could well be described as "one of the most surprising events in Jewish life in St. Paul."<sup>1</sup> If there was any one whose position seemed permanently bound up with the future of St. Paul it was he. Yet those who were well-informed knew that toward the end of the World War Rypins had become the center of an intense conflict and that there could be no satisfactory resolution of the problem save separation of the contesting forces.

The war had revolutionized many concepts, and Jews especially had been deeply affected. Russia was the symbol of autocracy and tyranny; yet Czarist Russia had become America's ally.

<sup>1</sup> *AI*, Jan. 20, 1921.

Germany had meant education and progress, it had meant emancipation — however circumscribed — yet Germany had been the enemy. Nationalism had run deep in America. American Jews had responded to this surge of patriotism with genuine and fervent strength, perhaps more strongly than in any land of the Diaspora at any other time. No wonder then that they should feel with intense force the conflict of loyalties which wrenched the souls of many Americans, and like their fellow-citizens they fell victim to the psychological consequences of this new constellation. American Jews who had come from a German background and had only yesterday been known as "German Jews" were now the most vociferously anti-German group in the country. Like others of German origin they felt their allegiance questioned and they reacted with sentiments which often bordered on chauvinism.

Rypins represented this group, but he kept enough distance to consider even pacificism as understandable and, when the war was over, was bold enough to declare that not all the guilt had been on one side and all the merit on the other. This earned him instant and irreconcilable enmity. If anything, the post-war insecurity and the rise of anti-Semitism had intensified the desire of the German Jewish group to conform to the accepted patterns of Americanism. Even though many members had formed deep bonds of affection for the Rabbi, this conflict touched loyalties of a different kind and moved even his best friends to view his opinions with alarm. They counseled silence, but to Rypins this was a matter of principle. To him the synagogue was the natural sounding board for questions of morality, as he conceived them. His Temple Board in turn felt itself called upon to restate its own responsibilities. Late in 1919 they communicated to their Rabbi the following resolution:

It being apparent that following the close of the great war, a condition of political, social and economic unrest has made its appearance in many of the countries of Europe and is now manifesting itself in our own beloved country and that men differ so greatly and feel so intensely upon these subjects, that the discussion of them has become largely controversial — it is the carefully considered judgment of the Board of Administration that public discussion from the pulpit at this time of the controversial phases of political, social and economic ques-



tions may cause great harm to the Congregation, both from within and without, and should therefore be carefully avoided.<sup>2</sup>

For a year the conflict remained unresolved. The Congregation at large was ready to support Rypins' right to speak freely, but the rift convinced him that he could no longer serve effectively. In early 1921, he resigned because, as he stated, of an "irreconcilable difference on Congregational policy between him and the Board, although he was leaving on the most friendly and amicable terms with the officers and members. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

His farewell sermon was heard by an overflow crowd. Commenting not merely on his own Board—which had won a Pyrrhic victory, for its own leadership was coming to an inevitable end—but on the type of Jewish intransigence which he felt they represented, he said in an afterwards oft-quoted phrase: "They want the truth, but—they want it in a peculiar way."<sup>4</sup> He stepped aside and from temporary retirement into commercial life watched his community chart its new course.<sup>5</sup>

That winter, Maurice Lefkovits resigned the post he had occupied for fifteen years and, like his colleague, went into business activity in the Twin Cities. He left a community well on the way toward unification and could look upon the significant part which he himself had played in achieving it. Duluth, last of the three large cities to develop a full Jewish community, was first in levelling the peaks of social and religious divisiveness.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> MZM, Dec. 1, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> AI, Jan. 20, 1921; see also MZM, Nov. 3, 1920; Jan. 10, Jan. 13, Feb. 6, and May 4, 1921. A special gift of appreciation was presented to him by the Congregation, but it was returned by the Rabbi.

<sup>4</sup> AJW, Feb. 4, 1921 (p. 11).

<sup>5</sup> He became Vice-President of the Cosmopolitan State Bank; AI, Feb. 3, 1921. Later he returned to the rabbinate and served in Joplin, Missouri. He retired in 1928 and died December 3, 1951, in San Francisco. At the time of his death, he was the oldest living graduate of Hebrew Union College; see *Mount Zion Bulletin*, Dec. 21, 1951.

<sup>6</sup> See the general review of Jewish life in Duluth in AJW, Sept. 22, 1922 (pp. 83 ff.). Rabbi Lefkovits settled in Minneapolis, went into business, but continued his active participation in Jewish affairs. After Deinard's death he temporarily filled the vacant position; *ibid.*, p. 51. About his resignation, see AJW, Oct. 29, 1920 (p. 4); DEH, Nov. 13, 1920.

Rabbi Alvin Luchs who had just graduated from Hebrew Union College succeeded Rabbi Lefkovits at Temple Emanuel.

Rabbi Israel Lebediger also left Duluth at that time and was succeeded by Rabbi David Aronson (born Aug. 1, 1894), who served from 1922 to 1924. A graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1919), Rabbi Aronson came to

The High Holy Days came late in 1921; *Yom Kippur* eve fell on Columbus Day. Minnesota's Jews were returning to their synagogues for morning worship. Somehow the news spread, and suddenly every one who was anywhere at prayer seemed to know: Rabbi Samuel Deinard, at the height of his fruitful life, had died during the night.

The news came as a deep shock to every Jew in the state. Thousands came to bid him farewell. For hours in advance of the funeral the streets were black with five thousand mourners. They had seen in Deinard neither partisan nor sectarian; in him they intuitively recognized the spirit of the new community to come: the total community which would not be Reform or Orthodox, Zionist or assimilationist, but simply Jewish.

"This day," said Conservative Rabbi Matt, "is as grievous to Israel, Israel in Minneapolis, Israel in America, as the day when the sun set at noon. . . . His sun did set at noon." And Orthodox leader Rabbi Silber said of him: "As a teacher and leader he was well nigh irresistible, and he could sway audiences with equal power and magnetism, whether from the pulpit of the Reform Temple or from that of the Orthodox Synagogue."

"Never in the thirty years I have been in the city have I seen anything as impressive as this tribute," wrote an observer, and the Yiddish and general press spoke in similar terms.<sup>7</sup>

Thirty-five years later this judgment of contemporaries had stood the test of historic perspective. "The great Jewish leader of the Twin Cities of those days" was the fitting tribute across the span of years.<sup>8</sup> Solomon Schechter might have called him the embodiment of "Catholic Israel." The spirit of unity, dimly felt

---

Beth El Synagogue in Minneapolis in 1924 and is still occupying that position after thirty-five years of outstanding service. In 1959, he received the Minneapolis Distinguished Citizen Award, the first minister of any faith to be so honored.

<sup>7</sup> *AJW*, Oct. 14, 1921. For a full review of his life see *ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1921 (p. 9); also Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 9, Dr. George Gordon, and p. 16, Rabbi Matt). *SP*, vol. I, no. 4 (Oct. 14, 1921), p. 1, and no. 5 (Oct. 21, 1921), p. 1, for tributes in the Yiddish press; *SPPP*, Oct. 17, 1921 for the general press.

The pulpit was not filled until 1922, when the Congregation called Rabbi Albert G. Minda (born July 20, 1895), a graduate of Hebrew Union College (1919). He is still serving in 1959, nearing completion of four decades of remarkable community leadership. In the Minnesota Territory centennial year (1949) he was designated as one of the One Hundred Living Great of Minnesota.

<sup>8</sup> Rabbi Philip Kleinman, then Rabbi of Temple of Aaron, St. Paul; in private communication to the author, Aug. 28, 1955.

by his community when he began to serve it at the turn of the century, had blossomed when he left it and gave promise of rich fruit in the days to come.

Later that year, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt came to town and addressed the Minneapolis Jewish Conference—representatives of thirty-eight Jewish organizations, almost the entire organized community. They were using the term *Kehillah* [Community], in imitation of the European “organic” communal structure, and were “attempting to consider and act on matters affecting the Jewish community as a whole.”<sup>9</sup> No immediate practical result was achieved in these and similar enterprises, but the very existence of such roof organizations emphasized new thinking and new policy. Welfare associations would be strengthened in the process, fund drives would command a wider basis, and the legitimate aspirations of different groups would obtain increased public recognition.

Slowly, post war tensions were relaxing; the depression of 1920 had been overcome. Despite the multiplicity of groups, institutions and organizations—Duluth had more than twenty-five, Minneapolis more than sixty, and St. Paul over fifty and there were six students’ organizations at the University—there was a feeling of new unity, of a common aim, of social rebirth.<sup>10</sup> Reform was beginning to alter its course toward more moderate goals, Conservatism was growing rapidly, and a new American Orthodoxy was attempting to find its place in the modern setting.

Minnesota Jewry had passed through its second stage. Its adolescence was coming to a close. Federal laws had slowed new immigration to a trickle. The opening era of normalcy gave promise that the American pre-occupation with rising living standards would find its magnificent reward. The relative economic security which the twenties held out would reflect itself

<sup>9</sup> By-laws of the Conference; see *AJW*, March 9 and 16, 1917; Sept. 22, 1922 (p. 50); *AJYB*, 1913–1914 (5674), p. 402. Emanuel Cohen, Joseph Schanfeld and Rabbi C. David Matt had been early leaders of the Conference, which was founded in 1914. In 1921, Abraham N. Bearman was Chairman.

<sup>10</sup> Edward A. Silberstein, *AJW*, Sept. 30, 1921 (p. 51). For a complete roster of Jewish organizations in the Twin Cities, see *ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1920 (pp. 72 and 79–81); Sept. 30, 1921 (pp. 63–65); also *SP*, vol. I, no. 2 (Sept. 30, 1921), p. 7. Enrollment of Jewish students at Minnesota’s private colleges was always, and has remained, small.



in the stability of Jewish communal life. Few Jewish immigrants who settled in the state were leaving for other parts of the country — quite in contrast to the total settlement of new immigrants. While Jews comprised on the average of five per cent of all new arrivals, they numbered ten per cent of those who stayed to settle permanently in Minnesota.<sup>11</sup> Some of those who had guided the community in these last most decisive decades had gone, but there were others to take their place. The new generation looked back and saw the steep road which had brought them to the threshold of communal adulthood. They looked forward and saw the potential which the forty-odd thousand Jews of the state represented.<sup>12</sup>

Economically, too, the Jewish group stood at the portal of great advance. The East European immigrants and their children were reaching or even overtaking the older settlers. The ghetto proletarian was giving way to the middle class bourgeois and was acquiring his tastes, his manners and his pretensions.

"May it be God's will that our maturity shall not disgrace our youth," wrote Rabbi Matt as a wish not merely for the year which was beginning, but for the era which he knew was opening.<sup>13</sup> Seventy-five years had passed since Minnesota's Jews had first assembled for services and had established their first communal group. From such modest beginnings many branches had sprung. There was hardly a town of any size which did not have Jewish inhabitants. The large centers had a multitude of institutions which bore witness to a pulsating social, cultural and religious life. The North Star state had been a hospitable home to its Jewish settlers. To the days ahead they would bring a new spirit of pride in their heritage, a wider participation in the affairs of the larger community and, above all, a deeper understanding of themselves as members of a vibrant historic people — in all their shadings, all their divergencies and all their common great opportunities.

<sup>11</sup> For a table of immigration to Minnesota from 1912 to 1920, see Appendix J, *infra*, p. 318.

<sup>12</sup> See the figures given in *AJYB*, 1928-1929 (5689), p. 187, and the table in Appendix K, *infra*, p. 318.

<sup>13</sup> *AJW*, Sept. 30, 1921 (p. 58).

## *Epilogue*

As THE 1920's marched toward climax and calamity, there were surely few who could have foreseen the development of Minnesota's Jewish community during the next generation. Still in the future were the impact of Nazism, the all-pervading effects of the Second World War and the subsequent economic rise of the American middle class in which the Jews were to participate so fully. But the basic outlines of the internal growth and change of the community were drawn after the First War.

The gap between old and new settler had narrowed; soon it would disappear altogether.

The social laws which operated the divisions between East European and German Jews were becoming inoperative; soon these distinctions would be forgotten and new economic differentiations would take their place.

The leadership of the community was passing into new hands; soon a different corps of men of varied backgrounds would come to the fore.

Jews had begun to plan together, give together and build together for their common needs. The concept of a unified community was taking hold. Existing communal institutions would be expanded and strengthened, and new ones would be founded.

The old neighborhoods were thinning out. As they deteriorated they would be overtaken by the process of urban renewal and people would be moving farther away from the center of town.

Jewish religious life had been built on solid foundations. The great majority of existing congregations would continue throughout the next generation.

The same was true for the educational institutions. Practically all of those which flourished in the 1950's were already established and active in the twenties.

Last but not least, the Jews had learned their first lessons in fighting against bigotry. In the years to come this struggle would take them into the broader arenas of civil rights and human relations.

Thus, after the First World War, was the structure of tomorrow limned against the horizon of Jewish life. It had form and strength, and its promise would not be denied in the days to come.



# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AH	<i>American Hebrew</i>	MJ	<i>Minneapolis Journal</i>
AI	<i>American Israelite</i>	MM	<i>Menorah Monthly</i>
AJA	<i>American Jewish Archives</i>	MMed	<i>Minnesota Medicine</i>
AJW	<i>American Jewish World</i>	MP	<i>Minnesota Pioneer</i>
AJYB	<i>American Jewish Year Book</i>	MSZ	<i>Minnesota Staats-Zeitung</i>
AR	<i>Annual Report of the Associated Charities of Minneapolis</i>	MT	<i>Minneapolis Times</i>
AZJ	<i>Allegemeine Zeitung des Judentums</i>	MTrib	<i>Minneapolis Tribune</i>
BoM	<i>Book of Minnesotans</i>	MZM	<i>Mount Zion [Temple] Minutes</i>
BT	<i>Bismarck [North Dakota] Tribune</i>	MZA	<i>Mount Zion [Temple] Archives</i>
CCAR	<i>Central Conference of American Rabbis</i>	N.W.	<i>North Western Reporter</i>
DEH	<i>Duluth Evening Herald</i>	Occ	<i>Occident</i>
DM	<i>Daily Minnesotan</i>	PAJHS	<i>Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society</i>
DPD	<i>Daily Pioneer and Democrat</i>	RA	<i>Reform Advocate</i>
Gil.	<i>Gilfillan Reports</i>	SP	<i>Shabbosdige Post (English section was called Saturday Post)</i>
HLBS	<i>Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society</i>	SPD	<i>St. Paul Dispatch</i>
JE	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>	SPDir	<i>St. Paul City Directory</i>
JM	<i>Jewish Messenger</i>	SPDN	<i>St. Paul Daily News</i>
LM	<i>Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota</i>	SPG	<i>St. Paul Globe</i>
MB	<i>Minnesota Biographies</i>	SPP	<i>St. Paul Press</i>
MH	<i>Minnesota History</i>	SPPP	<i>St. Paul Pioneer Press</i>
MHS	<i>Minnesota Historical Society</i>	UJE	<i>Universal Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
Minn.	<i>Minnesota Reports</i>	U.S.	<i>United States Reports</i>
		WWAJ	<i>Who's Who in American Jewry</i>

## *Appendixes*





## APPENDIX A—MINNESOTA JEWS IN THE CIVIL WAR

Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen* (Philadelphia, 1895), lists no Jewish soldiers from Minnesota. A search was made, however, of the Minnesota rosters of the Civil and Indian Wars, and liberal spot checks were taken. Such names as Blum, Levy, Hymann and Greenwald are found as are many others; but their further identification was not undertaken. There were enough of these names to justify the obvious conclusion that Jews, as a matter of course, participated in these wars like their fellow citizens. In Mount Zion cemetery in St. Paul these graves are identified with veterans' markers: Michael Harris (1839–1908), Joseph H. Smith (1846–1919), Bernhard Neumann (1828–1894) and Benjamin H. Plechner.

Plechner was twenty-seven years old when he enlisted on April 19, 1861, and served as a sergeant with Co. Engineers, 6th Regiment, New York State Militia, until mustered out on July 31, 1861 (information supplied by Adjutant General's Office, Albany, New York). He had been born June 19, 1834, married Babette Baireuther in 1864, and had seven children (information supplied by his grandson, Mr. Benjamin H. P. Fantle, of Sioux Falls, South Dakota). Plechner later moved to St. Paul, became President of Mt. Zion in 1875, and also of B'nai B'rith. He died Oct. 27, 1893. See also *AI*, Nov. 2, 1893.

Among the Civil War veterans was also Max Wolff, later a Minneapolis resident. He is listed on an original roll, dated Sept. 1, 1861, at Fort Morgan, Alabama, for Co. C, 2nd Alabama Infantry, as a private. He was twenty years old at the time (communication from Department of Archives and History, State of Alabama, dated July 28, 1958). Simon Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 122, spells his name erroneously as Wolf. See also *AJW*, Sept. 3, 1937, p. 84.

Service records for Harris, Smith and Neumann were not located.

## APPENDIX B—MINNESOTA JEWS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

A complete list of Jewish participation in the war was published in *AJW*, Sept. 26, 1919 (pp. 22 ff.). Jewish servicemen were listed as follows:

St. Paul, nine died, six were wounded, four were cited; a total of 451 men served.

Minneapolis, eleven died, twelve were wounded, one was missing, five were cited, nineteen served in the Jewish Legion; altogether 828 men served.

Duluth, four died, five were wounded, one was cited; altogether 155 men served.

149 men were said to have served from the smaller communities.

St. Paul listed the following as having died: John Binder, Charles F. Brown, Eugene Frankel, Nathan Goldstein, Nathan L. Hoffman, Leon Leroy and Norman Daniel Kahn, Isadore Stameshkin, Milton Mark, Maurice Katz.

Minneapolis listed these dead: Albert Atlas, Samuel Besner, Louis Bodock, George Cohen, Edward J. Dworsky, Jacob Gittelman, Lawrence Labovich, Leo Levin, Jacob Roisman, Harry Rosenfield, Henry Spanier, Israel B. Feigelman (Jewish Legion), Joe Caudrar (missing).

Duluth men who died were: Frank D. Abramson, Joseph Hurvitch, David Kaplan, Albert C. Steiner.

The list of Jewish men from other parts of the state must be considered as unreliable, not only because of the dubious Jewish identification of some of the names (Scandinavian Isaacsons, Aronsons, Abramsons are not infrequent), but also because a casualty list of sixteen out of 200 is an excessive percentage. The names are therefore repeated with reservations: Herman Klein (of Bemidji); Louis Press (of Chisholm); Oscar Spangenberg (of Farmington); A. C. Rosenberg (of Farwell); Joseph Ferber (of Gibbon); Herman Gulbrandson (of Hermantown); A. Morgenthaler (of LeSueur); N. E. Finkelson (of North Branch); C. J. Sonnenberg (of Rochester); W. A. Samuelson (of Rosecreek); Walter J. Sherer (of Shakopee); Bernard A. Brown (of Swanville); Hillard A. Aronson (of Tower); W. W. Prelvitz (of Willmont).

For other war records, see *AJW*, Sept. 6, 1918 (pp. 16–21) and Sept. 26, 1919 (pp. 22 and 60); Frankel Papers, box 3, file 6. For a list of Jews in the Minnesota Militia prior to the war, see *AJW*, July 14, 1916.

#### APPENDIX C—ORIGINS OF CONGREGATION SONS OF JACOB, ST. PAUL

There is a great deal of uncertainty concerning the exact dating of the beginnings of Sons of Jacob. It is possible that some of the men met for private prayer as early as 1869, but there is no record of it (see *75th Anniversary Book* [Sons of Jacob; St. Paul, 1953]). The same source says that formal organization took place in 1871, which is also possible; but of those said to be present, Moses Calmenson and Aaron Mark did not come to St. Paul until 1873. The earliest written reference is found in *MZM*, vol. I, Dec. 1, 1872, where a donation is acknowledged from "Mr. Koensberg, President of the Polish Congregation," which can only refer to Sons of Jacob. While Hiram D. Frankel later claimed (*RA*, Nov. 16, 1907, p. 45) that the Russian Brotherhood was organized in 1872 in the so-called sweatshop district of the city, this date, too, may be doubted, for Jews are not known to have resided in any numbers on the West Side until some ten years later. Henry Castle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 543, gives the names and date used in the text, which agrees with the names on the incorporation document; and this is therefore to be preferred over Andrews, p. 509, who gives M[oses] Cadon [Coddon] as first President of the corporation, and A[aron] Marks [Mark] as Vice-President, G. Caplin as Treasurer, A[dam] Kaufman as Secretary, and D[aniel] Goodman as Trustee. On the other hand, Louis D. Coddon, *AJW*, Sept. 22, 1922, p. 41, gives the organization date erroneously as 1877, and adds to the list of pioneers Meyer Shapiro, Solomon Moses, Robert Burton, Nathan Abrahamson, Moses Coddon, Isaac Coddon, Louis Pavian and Samuel Rudowsky — without specifying the date of their activity. All agree that Jacob Goldstein (or

Goldstien) was the *hazzan* in 1875. *SPDir*, 1881-1882, p. 41, gives the organization date as 1874 and the rabbi as T. D. Freedman, and on p. 294 as David Freeman.

#### APPENDIX D—FAREWELL TO JUDAH WECHSLER

When Rabbi Judah Wechsler left St. Paul, his friends presented him with the following address:

DR. WECHSLER:

We have assembled this evening in obedience to the dictates of a sincere and tender friendship, and to perform a duty which, however pleasant of itself, is yet mingled with emotions of regret, but it is the kind of regret that carries with it memories the most fragrant and sacred. The announcement that you, who for so many years officiated as our spiritual guide and beloved rabbi with such signal ability, are about to leave our fair city for other fields of labor, gives rise to feelings of the profoundest sorrow. Your high personal character, your fervent zeal for the cause of religion and humanity, your charity and philanthropy, your tireless labor and devotion to all the higher movements intended to elevate and purify the condition and life of man, are qualities which you possess in an eminent degree; and these qualities have endeared you to us and to your fellow citizens. A higher authority than we have said, "by their works ye shall know them," and, after all, this is the best and final test to a man's character. Of your work in St. Paul the community at large can testify. The beautiful temple of worship in the city shall ever remain the greatest testimonial of your zeal, intelligence, liberality and industry. If a monument were wanted to perpetuate your memory, here it is. But it is not alone in outward signs that your power is manifested. The colony of Russian refugees in Dakota, when fleeing from the tyranny and persecution of cruel despots, found a hearty welcome at your hands, and it can be said literally that you fed the hungry and clothed the naked, and owing to your generosity and zeal alone they found a warm and generous asylum. The monument then built is more enduring than monuments of brass or stone, and will exist for generations yet unborn. And now, Dr. Wechsler, words fail us, and our lips falter as we come to say farewell to pastor, citizen and friend. The last words must be spoken, and while filled with regret at your departure, we may yet congratulate you upon the success which we are sure awaits you in your new sphere of action, and while we commend you and your worthy family, with full hearts, to the good people of Meridian, we can truly say at parting that "what is our loss is their gain," and should you, as advancing years come on, decide to rest from labor and change your residence, we hope to welcome you once again into our midst. And now in conclusion, as a slight tribute, before parting we desire to place in your hands this feeble testimonial of our friendship and affection.<sup>1</sup>

#### APPENDIX E—REFERENCES ON PAINTED WOODS

The literature on Painted Woods is considerable. The name originated from the Sioux and Mandan Indians who painted their signs on cottonwood trees.

<sup>1</sup> *AI*, Sept. 24, 1886.



Painted Woods Lake has since disappeared because of drainage and drought (M. A. B. Williams, *Washburn*, pp. 16–17). A major source of information, beyond those quoted previously, are Wechsler's long letters — pleas for help, justification of the project, a frank description of his own labors, and a constant assurance that the colony would succeed. See *AI*, Aug. 11, Sept. 15, Nov. 17, Dec. 1 and 29, 1882; March 9, April 13, Nov. 16, 1883. See also *AZJ*, May 8, 1883; *JM*, May 25, 1883; *AH*, Nov. 19, 1886 (p. 21), quoted by B. Starkoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35; *AJYB*, 1912–1913 (5673) (article by Leonard G. Robinson), p. 61; *AI*, June 13, 1895 (a retrospect). Wechsler's last review of the project, and of other Dakota settlements, was written from Meridian, Miss. It was originally published in the *JM*, translated into Hebrew and printed in *Ha-Zefrah*, vol. XIV, no. 97 (May 1, 1887), p. 3. His contribution to the cause is called in *AH*, Nov. 5, 1886 (p. 197) — “the generous efforts of Dr. Wechsler.” Other information in Starkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 34, and *passim*; R. Singer, *op. cit.*, pp. 419, 405 and *passim*.

The account in M. A. B. Williams, *Washburn*, relies heavily on oral information and is not always accurate. It is instructive, however, for the very bias which it reflects and recalls. It also has information on the names of the settlers (p. 21). Much of this is, however, at variance with a picture montage of the “Wechsler Russian Jewish Farmer Settlement” (published in *AJA*, Western issue, vol. VIII, no. 2 [Oct., 1956], facing p. 89). The montage mentions forty persons, many more than Williams, and its spellings are to be preferred over Williams.

#### APPENDIX F—ORIGINS OF CONGREGATION KENESSETH ISRAEL, MINNEAPOLIS

The congregation Keneseth Israel was incorporated on Dec. 22, 1891 (Minnesota Incorporation Books, vol. C-2, p. 544). Incorporators were Keevey Goldbloom, Nathan Lowenthal, Isaac Schulman, Harris Rosenberg, Harris Edelman, Josiah Gittelson. Other founders were Simon Joseph Shallet, Isaac Harris. Goldbloom was its first President; Keneseth Israel Synagogue, *Golden Anniversary* (Minneapolis, April 3, 1938), pp. 6–18. This booklet contains also much information on Ohel Jacob. The latter was often spelled O'Hel Jacob, and Keneseth Israel was originally known as Chnesses or Chnessis Israel. The Congregation still has in its archives ledgers and papers going back to the founding days of both Congregations. They reveal the modest beginnings and the small economic potential of its members. A *kohen* (descendant of the family of Aaron) called up on the second day of *Rosh Hashanah* paid all of \$1.00 for the honor. Ohel Jacob's ledger, written in both English and Hebrew letters, goes back to 1889, and Keneseth Israel's to the days of incorporation in 1891. Many interesting papers in English and Yiddish reflect the ways and means by which the Congregation attempted to maintain its Orthodox philosophy while adopting modern American methods of organization. In ritual matters, Keneseth Israel strove for the utmost in traditional dignity. A written note, dated April 26, 1896, states:

We, the undersigned, offer the following to be resolved by the Congregation, that from now on the Chozeh Kadesh [*hazi kaddish*, a short prayer of praise] after reading the Torah at all times shall be offered by the reader only.  
Rabbi Isaac Jaffa also served other congregations and was considered the Ortho-

dox Chief Rabbi. In 1901, he left and went to Jerusalem. He died there in 1907. See also *JE*, vol. VIII, p. 599.

#### APPENDIX G—JEWISH PHYSICIANS IN MINNESOTA BEFORE 1900

Over a number of years Dr. Robert Rosenthal, of St. Paul, has made a special study of Jewish physicians in early Minnesota. Grateful acknowledgment is made to him for a good deal of the following data on Jewish practitioners before 1900:

DR. RUDOLPH ALBERTI came to St. Paul in 1855 from Memphis. He was originally from Krotoschin [Krotoszyn], near Posen [Poznan] (which was then Prussian). His family relations and his contacts with others of the profession were never quite clear. He practiced also in Winona County in 1871; "History of Medicine in Winona County," *Minnesota Medicine* [= *MMed*], vol. XXIII, no. 6 (June, 1940), p. 425. In a case in Davenport, Iowa, he attracted unfavorable attention (*ibid.*). Dr. John Armstrong, "History of Medicine in Ramsey County," *MMed.*, vol. XXII, no. 7 (July, 1939), p. 470, says: "The year 1855 also saw the arrival of . . . Rudolph Alberti. . . . Alberti was somewhat of a mystery, was either German Jew or a Pole." No other Jewish identification is known.

DR. ARTHUR B. ANCKER was born of Jewish parents in Baltimore on March 20, 1851, and died on May 15, 1923, in St. Paul. He graduated from the Medical College of Ohio, in Cincinnati, and from 1883 to the time of his death was superintendent of the St. Paul City and County Hospital. The hospital was later named after him and is known today as Ancker Hospital. He served the Ramsey County Medical Society in various capacities and was its president in 1894. He also became president of the American Hospital Association. When the medical school of the University of Minnesota was organized in 1888, he became its first Professor of Hygiene. His influence on the medical profession in Minnesota was considerable; but his connection with the Jewish community became non-existent. He had a Masonic funeral service and was buried in Frontenac, Wisconsin. Ancker was survived by his wife Mary (died 1935), three sisters, Mrs. Delia Elkins, Hartford, Connecticut; Miss Ella Ancker, St. Louis; Mrs. Adolph Bitterman, Evansville, Indiana; and a brother, Abram, also of Evansville. The Bitterman family was active in the Washington Avenue Temple, Evansville (communication from Rabbi Milton Greenwald, Jan. 20, 1955). See also *MMed*, vol. VI, no. 6 (June, 1923), p. 413; *SPD*, May 16, 1923 (p. 1).

On DR. ISAAC N. COHEN, see *supra*, chapter 10, p. 73f.

DR. NOAH DIAMANTENBERG was born Noa Dymenberg at Czernowitz [Chernovtsy], Austria [today, Rumania], on March 15, 1864. When he came to America is not known. He was graduated from the St. Paul College of Medicine in 1886, and was licensed as a physician in Minnesota on March 30th of that year, receiving certificate No. 1174 (R). He was for a time, in 1886, in Cottonwood County. He was also licensed in Iowa in 1888, in Colorado in 1889, and in Illinois in 1890. He was a resident of Minturn, Colorado, and was a member of the Colorado State Medical Society. He died there on Dec. 24, 1932, when he was struck by a train. See Dr. Ludwig L. Sogge, *MMed*, vol. XXXI, no. 8 (Aug., 1948), p. 902.

DR. EDWARD FISHBLATT, from 1874 on, edited medical journals under several different names. He practiced medicine in 1884 in Dodge County, and from 1889 until his death in 1898 in Minneapolis. His reputation was poor, and his

Jewishness was uncertain. Besides his suggestive name there is also a reference to him in the *Dodge County Republican* (Kasson, Oct. 6, 1887) which refers to him as "Dr. Fishblatt, the Jewish quack." The same notice also says that he joined the Salvation Army—so we have our choice. Further details on him and his advertising methods in "History of Medicine in Dodge County," *MMed*, vol. XXVI, no. 6 (June, 1943), pp. 554–555.

DR. LLOYD N. HORWITZ became a member of the Ramsey Medical Society on Feb. 27, 1888, and shortly thereafter read a paper on "Typhus Fever." He graduated from Jefferson Medical College in 1882. He later left the county and died in 1900, at the age of thirty-eight. See C. C. Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 308–309.

DR. DAVID H. LANDE was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on Jan. 12, 1876, and graduated from the University of Michigan in 1897. From 1899 on he was very active in St. Paul and read several papers before learned societies. He later on studied abroad, returned, and then went to Vienna as a surgeon and died there in 1908, after a gallstone operation. See also H. D. Frankel, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 50. He was a distant relation of the Firestone family.

On DR. JOSEPH MARK, see *supra*, chapter 8, p. 55f. His son, DAVID BENJAMIN, and grandson, VERNON HERSHEL, also became physicians.

DR. RUDOLPH SCHIFFMAN was born Aug. 1, 1845, in St. Louis, Missouri, and graduated from the Medical Department of Washington University in St. Louis in 1867 (*Polk's Medical Registry and Directory* [Chicago, 1900] and *SPP*, March 30, 1872, p. 4). The press gave him a rousing send-off by publishing a series of articles originally authored by his associate, Dr. Robert Hunter. Schiffman had come to St. Paul in 1868. He made a fortune selling a cure for asthma (*Sherburne County [Minn.] Star*, Dec. 24, 1875, for a sample of his advertising). He was a Civil War veteran, having served in the Eighth Missouri Calvary. (Identification as a Jew is doubtful.) See also *MB*, p. 676; *MMed*, vol. XXII, no. 5 (May, 1939), pp. 311–312.

DR. JULIUS SILBERSTEIN graduated from the St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1891 and was found in Red Lake, Minnesota, at the turn of the century (see *Polk's Medical Registry and Directory*, 1900 and 1906). A DR. DAVID B. NEWMANN was practicing at the same time in Bemidji, but there is doubt that he was a Jew.

On DR. MARCUS TESSLER, see *supra*, chapter 23, p. 167, note 11.

DR. SAMUEL WIMPELBERG graduated from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1883. He practiced in New York state and, for a short time only, in St. Paul. In 1891, he joined the Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation (see *MZM*, vol. III, p. 16 [May 3, 1891]).

Dr. Robert Rosenthal also provided the following sidelight:

St. Luke's Hospital in St. Paul, an Episcopalian institution, gave 17,181 days' care to all its patients in 1889; 205 of these went to "Hebrews" and 226 to "infidels." Although the hospital had thirty percent charity patients, no Jews availed themselves of this opportunity. However, Mount Zion's HLBS contributed to the hospital (see HLBS Minutes, Feb. 3, 1897, where a donation of \$100.00 is listed).

#### APPENDIX H—REFORM'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ZIONISM

The *American Israelite* was, in 1919, representing the old-time Reform movement which in the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885 had decried all national Jewish



aspirations and had come to consider a permanent diaspora as an historic ideal. The official Reform lay body, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, also had taken a stand inimical to Zionism and, in 1899, had gone on record as follows:

While we are aware of and deplore the abject conditions to which many of our brethren are subjected in foreign lands, and which have naturally, but unfortunately, aroused in some of them a yearning for a re-establishment in Zion, yet we delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in convention assembled, in view of the active propaganda being made at present for the so-called Zionistic movement, deem it proper and necessary to put ourselves on record as follows:

We are unalterably opposed to political Zionism. The Jews are not a nation, but a religious community. Zion was a precious possession of the past, the early home of our faith, where our prophets uttered their world-enduring thoughts, and our psalmists sang their world-enchancing hymns. As such, it is a holy memory, but it is not our hope of the future. America is our Zion. Here, in the home of religious liberty, we have aided in founding this new Zion, the fruition of the beginning laid in the old. The mission of Judaism is spiritual, not political. Its aim is not to establish a State, but to spread the truths of religion and humanity throughout the world (*AJYB*, 1899-1900 [5660], pp. 103-104).

Still, some of the top leadership of American political Zionism came from the beginning out of the Reform rabbinate. In Minnesota, Samuel N. Deinard was joined by Maurice Lefkovits in Duluth; and nationally, Rabbis Stephen S. Wise, Gustave Gottheil, Judah L. Magnes and Max Heller were its leading spokesmen. Heller was President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis when it met in the Twin Cities in 1911. Deinard himself was a Vice-President of the Federation of American Zionists.

While Mount Zion had belonged to the Union since 1878, Shaarai Tov (later called Temple Israel) did not affiliate with it until 1921.

# APPENDIX I—POPULATION GROWTH, 1865-1930

Calvin F. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 5, gives the population growth of Minneapolis, St. Anthony and St. Paul as follows:

Year	Minneapolis	St. Anthony	St. Paul
1865	4,600	3,500	13,000
1870	13,000	5,000	20,000
1875	33,000	33,000	33,000
1880	47,000	(incorporated into Minneapolis in 1872)	41,500
1885	129,000		111,000
1890	165,000		133,000
1895	193,000		140,000
1900	202,000		163,000
1910	301,000		215,000
1920	380,000		235,000
1930	464,000		271,000

## APPENDIX J—IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA, 1912 TO 1920 \*

Year	Number Admitted		Number Departed		Net Increase	
	Jews	All Immigrants	Jews	All Immigrants	Jews	All Immigrants
1912	723	12,149	15	4,987	708	7,162
1914	1,537	22,232	13	3,402	1,524	18,830
1915	367	9,115	14	1,504	353	7,611
1916	422	7,619	..	1,019	422	6,600
1917	392	6,412	1	748	391	5,664
1918-1919	109	2,326	9	1,073	100	1,253
1919-1920	212	5,698	3	3,398	209	2,300

\* The above table was assembled from statistics published in various issues of *AJYB*; see: 1913-1914 (5674), p. 434; 1915-1916 (5676), p. 353; 1916-1917 (5677), p. 285; 1917-1918 (5678), p. 419; 1918-1919 (5679), p. 349; 1919-1920 (5680), p. 379, 1921-1922 (5682), p. 296.

The Jewish population at the end of the First World War was given as 15,000 for Minneapolis; 10,000 for St. Paul; 2,300 for Duluth; and 4,162 for "145 small towns." See *AJYB*, 1918-1919 (5679), p. 69. The figures for St. Paul and the smaller towns appear to have been overestimated.

## APPENDIX K—JEWISH POPULATION OF MINNESOTA, 1927 \*

Albert Lea	29	Ely	20	Park Rapids	20
Anoka	12	Eveleth	200	Red Wing	28
Austin	32	Faribault	80	Rochester	96
Belle Plaine	15	Fergus Falls	27	St. Paul	13,500
Bemidji	19	Grand Rapids	11	South St. Paul	25
Bovey	16	Hastings	20	Stillwater	22
Brainerd	28	Hector	13	Tracy	15
Buhl	13	International Falls	54	Virginia	160
Chisholm	134	Mankato	57	Windom	11
Crookston	24	Minneapolis	22,000	Winona	51
Crosby	16	Moorhead	22	Worthington	18
Duluth	3,480	Northfield	11		

Places having 10 Jews or less: Afton, Aurora, Blackduck, Blue Earth, Breckenridge, Browntown, Bruno, Buffalo, Calumet, Cambridge, Cloquet, Coleraine, Danube, Dennison, Ellsworth, Foley, Frazee, Fulda, Gibbon, Gilbert, Grasston, Houston, Jasper, Jordan, Kinney, Lake City, Lake Crystal, Le Sueur, Maple Ridge Township (Beltrami County), Maple Ridge Township (Isanti County), Marble, Melrose, Montevideo, Mora, Morristown Township (Rice County), Mountain Iron, New Rickland, North St. Paul, Owatonna, Paynesville, Preston, Proctorknott (Proctor), Riverton, Royalton village, Ruthton, Sandstone, Sebeka, Staples, Stewartville, Thief River Falls, Two Harbors, Wabasha, White Bear Lake, Willmar, Zumbrota.

\* *AJYB*, 1928-1929 (5689), p. 187. The above table gives no Jewish population for Hibbing, which in *AJYB*, 1929-1930 (5690), pp. 223 ff., is given as 275. It appears that figures for the three large communities were too high.

## *Glossary, References, and Index*





## GLOSSARY

(All terms are Hebrew unless otherwise noted)

- Aggadic**, an adjective referring to the homiletical material of Jewish tradition.  
 Its complement is **halakhic**, which refers to the legal aspects of tradition.
- Alef Bet** (commonly spelled *Aleph Beth*), the first two letters of the Hebrew alphabet; the alphabet itself.
- 'Aliyah** (plural, *'aliyot*), literally, ascent, especially to the blessing and reading of the *Torah* at the pulpit.
- Bar mizvah** (often spelled *Bar Mitzvah*), literally, Son of the Commandment, a boy who, having reached the age of thirteen, is called to bless the *Torah* and is thereafter considered religiously adult. The ceremony itself is also often referred to as *Bar Mitzvah*.
- Bat mizwah**, literally, Daughter of the Commandment, the female counterpart to *bar mizvah*.
- Bikkur holim**, visiting the sick.
- B'nai B'rith**, literally, Sons of the Covenant, the oldest and largest Jewish fraternal order, founded in 1843.
- Dabar shebikedushah**, a thing or an act relating to holiness or worship.
- Daitschische** (or *daitschike*) *yidden*, German Jews (Yiddish).
- 'Erwah**, unchastity, incest.
- Gemilut hasadim**, deeds of loving kindness or charity.
- Goy**, literally, nation. In later parlance referring to any Gentile (plural, *goyim*).
- Goyish**, adjective denoting Gentile habit (Yiddish).
- Goyishkeit**, Gentile manner (Yiddish).
- Gerim** (plural of *ger*), proselytes.
- Haknasat 'orhim**, a sheltering home for transients.
- Hanukkah**, festival of lights, celebrating the restoration of the Temple to Jewish worship in 165 B.C.E.
- Harif**, literally, sharp; denoting a keen mind.
- Hassidic** (from *hasid*), adjective referring to a mystical movement in Judaism, founded in the 18th century by Israel Baal Shem Tov.
- Hazzan**, cantor, reader of service.
- Hebrah kaddishah**, literally, holy association, name usually taken by a burial society.
- Hebrah mishnayot**, a group or class studying Mishnah (a classic text of the 2nd century C.E.).
- Hebrah shas**, group or class studying Talmud, the basic post-biblical text of traditional Judaism (5th century C.E.).
- Heder**, literally, room, the traditional Hebrew school.
- 'Illuy**, literally, elevation, a young genius.
- Kahal** or *Kehillah*, congregation.

*Kasher*, clean or ritually acceptable from the Orthodox point of view. The word is usually applied to food.

*Kashrut*, the observance of the law of ritually clean food.

*Kohen*, descendant of the family of Aaron.

*Kol Nidre*, literally, "all vows," the best known of the prayers of the eve of

Atonement Day; hence the evening service itself is often called *Kol Nidre*.

*Mazzah* (plural, *mazzot*), unleavened bread eaten at Passover time.

*Melammed*, teacher, usually a Hebrew teacher.

*Meshullah*, an emissary sent by a cultural or charitable institution.

*Mikveh*, ritual bath.

*Minhag*, a religious custom.

*Mohel*, circumciser.

*Ostjude*, East European Jew (German).

*Pesah*, the Festival of Passover.

*Purim*, the Feast of Esther.

*Rab*, an honorific title for a learned and ordained teacher, more usually known in the form *rabbi* ("my teacher").

*Rosh Hashanah*, the Jewish New Year.

*Sefer*, book.

*Sefer torah*, the scroll of the Torah (plural: *sifre torah*).

*Sefrah*, literally, counting, the period between the second day *Pesah* and *Shabu'ot*, which in Orthodox Judaism is (with some exceptions) a period of mourning.

*Semikah*, ordination.

*Shabbat*, Sabbath (the Seventh Day).

*Shabu'ot*, the Feast of Weeks, commemorating the giving of the Law at Sinai.

Today the day is widely used for the rite of Confirmation.

*Shehitah*, ritual slaughtering of animals.

*Shofar*, ram's horn blown on *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*.

*Shohet*, ritual slaughterer.

*Shul*, *shule*, synagogue (Yiddish).

*Tallit*, prayer shawl.

*Talmud Torah*, elementary Jewish religious school.

*Tefillin*, phylacteries.

*Torah*, the five books of Moses; more inclusively, the teachings of Judaism.

*Unetaneh tokef*, a well-known and moving High Holiday prayer.

*Yehudim*, Jews.

*Yekke*, German Jew (Yiddish).

*Yeshibah*, a higher (Talmudic) academy.

*Yeshibah bahur*, student at such an academy (Yiddish).

*Yihus*, pedigree, genealogy.

*Yom Kippur*, Day of Atonement.

*Zedakah*, charity.

## SOURCES

### MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

[American Jewish Congress] Minutes of a meeting, held Jan. 5, 1919, Ms. in possession of Mrs. Jesse Calmenson, St. Paul.

Auerbach, Maurice (1835-1915), personal papers, 1887-1918, in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society; 12 boxes.

Baddin, Albert D., and Bruzonsky, Cherie, typescript without title, prepared for Historical Committee of the Ida Cook Hebrew School (Duluth), 1955. A condensation of the article appeared in *Jewish Fellowship News* (Duluth),



- April, 1955, p. 4. The paper is not annotated and is apparently based on secondary sources. The information has been found to be generally reliable. Paper in possession of the author.
- [Baptist] Minutes of the St. Paul Baptist Sewing Society, First Baptist Church, 1851, in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society.
- Church of Good Shepherd (St. Paul), Journal, in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society.
- [Cohen] Syllabi for study classes directed by Nina Morais Cohen, typescripts and manuscripts, 1903–1918, in possession of Mrs. James Kantrowitz, Minneapolis.
- Crump, Jennie Ruth Scott, "Rabbi Wechsler and Wechsler," an address delivered in Meridian, Mississippi, by the principal of Wechsler Junior High School; n.d. (probably early 1950s), mimeographed; in Mount Zion Archives.
- Davis, Harry W., "Duluth History," typescript [n.d.] (probably ab. 1938). The paper is not annotated and is apparently based on personal knowledge, reminiscences and the like. Its reliability appears to be generally good. Paper in possession of the author.
- Eldot, Walter, "Jews of Duluth," typescript, 1955 (in possession of Mr. Bernard Postal, New York). Sources and reliability of the paper are not known.
- Frankel, Hiram D., personal papers, in Manuscript Division, MHS, 34 boxes; general index at MHS and in American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.
- This large mass of material was first catalogued and analyzed in preparation for this book. The collection consists primarily of correspondence written and received by Frankel from 1907 to 1930, and of a variety of organizational materials, clippings, posters, reports, etc., gathered by Frankel in his many civic activities. All letters reflect, of course, the personal bias of the writer. On the whole, this extensive collection sheds much light on Jewish life in Minnesota, especially during the period of the First World War and the years immediately following.
- Greenberg, Mrs. Morris (Eveleth), paper delivered at a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society, March 1, 1955; typescript (in possession of Mr. Bernard Postal, New York). The paper is not annotated and appears to have been based largely on personal reminiscences.
- Heilbron, Julius (1860–1918), personal papers, 1876–1927, in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society.
- Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, records of the Grand Lodge District no. 6, 4 vols., 1910–1925, in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society. Contains records and rosters of local lodges.
- Independent Order B'rith Abraham, Minutes of Northwestern Lodge no. 74, St. Paul, 1906–1924, 1 vol.; in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society.
- Jeffery, David, "Struggles and Development of Adath Jeshurun," typescript, 1958 (in possession of Mr. Jeffery). The paper is based largely on personal recollections.
- Kenesseth Israel (at first spelled Chnesses Israel), Minneapolis, Ledger Books, beginning 1892 (in the archives of the Congregation).
- Kirk, Marvin S., "A Study of the Jews' Contribution to Land Settlement and Land Credit," Master's thesis, North Dakota State College of Agriculture; typescript, 81 pp., in the College Library.
- Kleinman, Philip, personal reminiscences, letters, Aug. 1955–Jan. 1956 (in possession of W. Gunther Plaut).
- Maier, Rabbi Reuben, "History of Congregation Agudath Achim, Hibbing, Minnesota," typescript (in possession of W. Gunther Plaut), dated Jan. 12, 1956. The paper is not annotated, is based on interviews and hearsay, and its information must therefore be used with caution.
- Marx, Bernard, Address at 25th anniversary of the Jewish Welfare Association,

- St. Paul, typescript, April 12, 1937; appended to Minute Book of Ladies Sewing Society; see *infra, sub* Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation. (The manuscript is catalogued in Minnesota Historical Society under "Marks").
- Mount Zion Hebrew Association (after 1872, Congregation), St. Paul: Minutes, from May 17, 1857, to present day (vol. V missing); Articles of Incorporation; Ledgers; Membership rosters; letters, documents and other manuscript materials, 1871-1958; in Mount Zion Archives.
- Also Record of Burials at Mount Zion Cemetery, manuscript, 1882-1889; Cemetery Transfer Book, pocket notebook by William Dampier, Oct.-Nov., 1889; both manuscripts in Mount Zion Archives.
- [Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation, St. Paul] Minute Book of the Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society, 1891-1899; in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society.
- Minute Book of Ladies Sewing Society, 1881-1883; in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society.
- Neighborhood House (St. Paul), Survey, conducted by the staff, St. Paul 1937; typescript, in archives of Neighborhood House.
- Minute Books, annual reports, anniversary reports, and other papers, St. Paul, in archives of Neighborhood House.
- Noah, Jacob Jackson, letters and military records, manuscripts in National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C.
- Ohel Jacob Congregation (Minneapolis), Ledger, 1889-1891, in possession of Keneseth Israel.
- St. Croix Valley Old Settlers Association, Obituary Record, in Manuscript Division of Minnesota Historical Society.
- St. Paul Social Club, Minute Book, June 8, 1882-Dec. 28, 1884; manuscript in possession of Mr. Albert N. Rose, Jr., St. Paul.
- Singer, Richard, "The American Jew in Agriculture; Past History and Present Condition," Hebrew Union College, 1941; 2 vols., typescript in Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati.
- Starkoff, Bernard J., "The American Jew in Agriculture; History and Present Condition," Hebrew Union College, 1940; typescript in Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati.
- [Questionnaires] In Dec. 1955, the author submitted a "Historical Questionnaire" to a number of organizations, asking for information on records, names, dates, etc. Materials relevant to this book were received from the following:
- Adath Jeshurun Congregation, Minneapolis (Jerry Belenker); B'nai B'rith Covenant Lodge no. 569, Duluth (Dr. Sherman A. Levenson); B'nai B'rith Minnesota Lodge no. 157, St. Paul (Joseph Rosenblum); Gemelus Chesed, Minneapolis (Sol Berlovitz); Jewish Social Service Agency, Duluth (Bessie R. Arnovich); Keneseth Israel, Minneapolis, (Mrs. Charles Hyatt); Mizrahi, St. Paul (Sam Meckler); Oak Park Home, Minneapolis (Eve Goldfein); Talmud Torah, Minneapolis (Lawrence D. Kaiser); Temple Emanuel, Duluth (Mrs. Edward Jacobs); Temple of Aaron, St. Paul (Rabbi Bernard Raskas); Tifereth B'nai Jacob, Minneapolis (Abe Flom); Workmen's Circle Branch 353, Minneapolis (Newton S. Friedman).
- [Zionism] Collections of letters pertaining to the early history of the Zionist movement in Minnesota, 1899-1900; in possession of Mr. Max Shalett, Los Angeles, California.

#### CEMETERY RECORDS

Cemetery records and tombstone inscriptions, Mount Zion Cemetery, St. Paul (Payne and Larpentur Avenues).

## Tombstone inscriptions,

- Adath Jeshurun, Minneapolis (5605 France Avenue South).
- Sons of Jacob, St. Paul (Parkway Drive).
- Sons of Moses, St. Paul (Parkway Drive).
- Temple Israel, Minneapolis (Third Avenue and 42nd St. South).
- Russian Brotherhood, St. Paul (Barclay and Maryland Avenues).
- West Side Hebrew, St. Paul (Barclay and Maryland Avenues).

## PUBLIC RECORDS

- [Minnesota, State of] *The Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota*, edited by the Secretary of State (St. Paul, from 1859-1860 to 1879 it appeared as an annual, and from 1881 to date, as a biennial).
- *Session Laws of the Territory [later, State] of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1858 to date).
- Secretary of State, Incorporation records.
- [Ramsey County] Registry of deeds.
- [St. Paul] *Proceedings of the Common Council for the year ending Jan. 1, 1883* (St. Paul, 1883).
- [Tennessee, State of] *Proceedings of the High Court of Impeachment in the Case of the People of the State of Tennessee vs. Thomas N. Frazier* (Nashville, 1867).
- [United States] Manuscript Rolls, Federal Census, 1840 (Territory of Wisconsin), 1850 (Territory of Minnesota), 1857 (Special Census in preparation for statehood), 1860 and years following.
- National Archives, Washington, D. C., were consulted about military records.
- [Varii] The Adjutants-General of Alabama, New York, Tennessee, and Wisconsin were consulted about military records.

## GENERAL REFERENCES

- Andrews, General Cristopher Columbus, *History of St. Paul, Minnesota* (Syracuse, 1890), 2 parts, paged separately.
- Atwater, Isaac, ed., *History of the City of Minneapolis* (Minneapolis, 1893), 2 vols.
- Bernard, Jessie, "Biculturalism: A Study in Social Schizophrenia"; in Isaac Graeber and Stuart H. Britt, ed., *Jews in a Gentile World* (New York, 1942), pp. 264-293.
- Billington, Ray A., Bert J. Loewenberg, and Samuel H. Brockunier, *The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective* (New York-Toronto, 1947).
- Blegen, Theodore C., *With Various Voices, Recordings of North Star Life 1654-1900* (St. Paul, 1949).
- Bliss, Frank Chapman, *St. Paul: Its Past and Present* (St. Paul, 1888).
- Book of Minnesotans*, edited by Albert N. Marquis (Chicago, 1907).
- Brinig, Myron, *Singermann* (New York, 1929).
- Burnquist, Joseph A. A., *Minnesota and Its People* (Chicago, 1924), 4 vols.
- Business Directory for the City of St. Paul, Minnesota Territory* (St. Paul, 1856).
- Castle, Henry, *St. Paul and Vicinity* (St. Paul, 1912), 3 vols.
- Chiel, Arthur, *Jewish Experiences in Early Manitoba* (Winnipeg, 1955).
- Cooper, Charles I., "The Jews of Minneapolis and their Christian Neighbors," *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. VIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1946), pp. 31-38.



- Danenbaum, Ruby, "A History of the Jews of Minneapolis," *Reform Advocate* (Chicago), Nov. 16, 1907 (special Minnesota edition), pp. 7-40.
- Davis, Moshe, *Yahadut Amerika Behitpathutah* [The Shaping of American Judaism] (New York, 1951).

*Directories:*

- Minneapolis and St. Anthony 1865-1866*, and subsequent years (titles vary).
- St. Paul City Directory for 1856-1857*, and subsequent years (titles vary).
- (See also *Business Directory*, *supra*)
- Dubnow, Simon, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (Berlin, 1925-1929), 10 vols.
- Flandrau, Charles E., "The Bench and Bar of Ramsey County, Minnesota," *Magazine of Western History*, vol. VII, no. 3 (Jan., 1888), pp. 328-337; vol. VIII, no. 1 (May, 1888), pp. 58-69.
- Folsom, William Henry Carman, *Fifty Years in the Northwest* (St. Paul, 1888).
- Folwell, William Watts, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1921), 4 vols.
- Frankel, Hiram D., "The Jews of Saint Paul," *Reform Advocate* (Chicago), Nov. 16, 1907 (special Minnesota edition), pp. 41-53.
- Fridley, Russell W., *A Sketch of Minnesota* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1958).
- Goldberg, Isaac, *Major Noah: American-Jewish Pioneer* (Philadelphia, 1936).
- Goldman, Julius, *Report on the Colonization of Russian Refugees in the West* (New York: Hebrew Emigrant Society, 1882).
- Gordon, Albert I., *Jews in Transition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949).
- Handlin, Oscar, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1952).
- *Adventure in Freedom* (New York, 1954).
- Heilbron, Bertha L., *The Thirty-Second State, A Pictorial History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1958).
- Hennessy, William B., *Past and Present of St. Paul, Minnesota* (Chicago, 1906).
- Higham, John, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955).
- "Social Discrimination against Jews in America, 1830-1930," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, vol. XLVII, no. 1 (Sept., 1957), pp. 1-33.
- Hirschler, Eric E., ed., *Jews from Germany in the United States* (New York, 1955).
- Hoffman, William, *Those Were the Days* (Minneapolis, 1957).
- Holbrook, Franklin F., and Livia Appel, *Minnesota in the War with Germany* (St. Paul, 1928), 2 vols.
- Iliowizi, Henry, *Through Morocco to Minnesota* (s.l., 1888).
- Joseph, Samuel, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund* (Philadelphia, 1935).
- Katkov, Norman, *Eagle at my Eyes* (New York, 1948).
- Katz, Irving, *The Beth El Story* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1955).
- "Ezekiel Solomon: The First Jew in Michigan," *Michigan History*, vol. XXXII, no. 3 (Sept., 1948), pp. 247-256.
- Kober, Adolf, "Jewish Emigration from Württemberg to the United States of America, (1848-1855)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, vol. XLI, no. 3 (March, 1952), pp. 225-273.
- Lerner, Max, *America as a Civilization* (New York, 1957).
- Linfield, Harry S., "Jewish Population in the United States 1927," *American Jewish Yearbook*, vol. XXX 1928-1929 (5689), pp. 101-198.
- "The Communal Organization of the Jews of the United States," *ibid.*, vol. XXXI, 1929-1930 (5690), pp. 99-254.
- "Jewish Communities in the United States," *ibid.*, vol. XLII, 1940-1941 (5701), pp. 215-266.

- Mankato, Its First Fifty Years* (Mankato, Minnesota; editor or author not listed, 1903).
- Marcus, Jacob Rader, "The Periodization of American Jewish History," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, vol. XLVII, no. 3 (March, 1958), pp. 1-9.
- Markens, Isaac, *The Hebrews in America* (New York, 1888).
- McWilliams, Carey, "Minneapolis: The Curious Twin," *Common Ground*, vol. VII, no. 1 (Autumn, 1946), pp. 61 ff.
- Men of Minnesota*, published by the Minnesota Historical Company (St. Paul, vol. I [1902], vol. II [1915]).
- Minneapolis Community Self-Survey of Human Relations, mimeographed (Minneapolis, 1948), 3 vols., in University of Minnesota Library.
- Minneapolis Directories*, see *Directories*.
- Minneapolis, Gateway to the Northwest*, edited by M. D. Schutter, supplement (Minneapolis, 1923).
- Minnesota, A State Guide* (American Guide Series), edited by Federal Writers Project (New York, 1938).
- Minnesota Biographies* [vol. XIV of *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*] (St. Paul, 1912).
- Minnesota Historical Society, *Scrap Books*, 68 vols., 1861-1912.
- Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865* (St. Paul, vol. I [1891], vol. II [1899], index vol. [1936]).
- Mowrer, Ernest Russell, *The Family, Its Organization and Disorganization* (Chicago, 1932).
- Murchie, R. W., and M. E. Jarchow, *Population Trends in Minnesota* (University of Minnesota, Agricultural Experiment Station, bulletin no. 327, May, 1936).
- [Nelson County] *Pioneer Stories*, written by People of Nelson County [North Dakota] (Lakota, n.d.).
- Newsom, Thomas McLean, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul* (St. Paul, 1886).
- Noyes, Daniel R., "Charities in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, vol. XII (1908), pp. 167 ff.
- Papo, Joseph M., "A Study of the Jewish Community of Duluth," in *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, no. 2 (Dec., 1941), reprint, 12 p.
- Plaut, W. Gunther, *Mount Zion 1856-1956: The First Hundred Years* (St. Paul, 1956).
- "Portrait of a Jewish Pioneer," *National Jewish Monthly*, vol. LXIX, no. 7 (March, 1955), pp. 14 ff.
- Polk's *Medical Registry and Directory of North America*, 6th revised edition (Detroit, Baltimore, Chicago, 1900); 9th revised edition (1906).
- Postal, Bernard, and Lionel Koppman, *A Jewish Tourist Guide to the United States* (Philadelphia, 1954).
- Robison, Sophia, "The Jewish Population of Minneapolis, 1936," *Jewish Population Studies*, published by the Conference on Jewish Relations (New York, 1943), pp. 152-159.
- Rosenholtz, Jennie, *Upon Thy Doorposts* (New York, 1936).
- Seymour, E. S., *Sketches of Minnesota, the New England of the West* (New York, 1850).
- Schmid, Calvin F., *Social Saga of Two Cities — an ecological and statistical study of social trends in Minneapolis and St. Paul* (Minneapolis, 1937).
- Shpall, Leo, "Jewish Agricultural Colonies in the United States," *Agricultural History*, vol. XXIV, no. 3 (July, 1950), pp. 120-146.
- Smith, Donnal V., "Influence of Foreign Born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. XIX, no. 2 (Sept., 1932), pp. 192 ff.

- St. Paul Directory*, see *Directories and Business Directory*.  
*St. Paul, History and Progress, Principal Men and Institutions*, edited by Pioneer Press (St. Paul, 1897).  
*Statistics of the Jews of the United States*, compiled by Board of Delegates of American Israelites, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Philadelphia, 1880).  
 Stephenson, George M., "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with special reference to the Mississippi Valley," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. IX, no. 3 (Dec., 1922), pp. 185-202.  
 Stevens, John H., *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People* (Minneapolis, 1890).  
 Ullmann, Amelia, "Frontier Days on the Upper Mississippi," Jacob R. Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews*, vol. II (Philadelphia, 1955), pp. 351-375; also in *Minnesota History*, vol. XXXIII, no. 5 (Spring, 1953), pp. 194 ff.; vol. XXXIV, no. 1 (Spring, 1954), pp. 17 ff.; *ibid.*, no. 3 (Autumn, 1954), pp. 96 ff.  
 [Ullmann] *Denkschrift zum 50-jährigen Geschäfts-Jubiläum 1854-1904*, (Leipzig, 1904).  
 Van Brunt, Walter, *Duluth and St. Louis County, Minnesota* (Chicago-New York, 1921), 3 vols.  
*Who's Who in American Jewry*, 1926, edited by Julius Schwartz (New York, 1927).  
 Williams, J. Fletcher, *A History of the City of Saint Paul* (St. Paul, 1876).  
 Williams, Mary Ann Barnes, *Pioneer Days of Washburn, North Dakota, and Vicinity* (Washburn, 1936).  
 Wolf, Simon, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen* (Philadelphia, 1895).

#### PERIODICALS

##### JEWISH SOURCES:

- Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, Berlin, 1837-1938 (from 1922 on known as *C. V. Zeitung*).  
*American Hebrew*, New York, from 1879.  
*American Israelite*, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1854 to date (known as *Israelite* until 1874).  
*American Jewish World*, Minneapolis, 1915 to date (issues from 1912-1915, when it appeared under the name of *Jewish Weekly*, could not be located).  
*American Jewish Year Book*, Philadelphia, 1899-1900 (5660) to date.  
*Die Welt*, Vienna, Austria, 1897-1914.  
*Forverts (Jewish Daily Forward)*, New York, 1897 to date.  
*Ha-Zefirah*, Warsaw, 1862-1928.  
*Jewish Advance*, Chicago, 1879-1882.  
*Jewish Messenger*, New York, 1857-1903.  
*Occident (and Jewish Advocate)*, Philadelphia, 1843-1869.  
*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, New York, from 1915.  
*Reform Advocate* (later, *The Advocate*), Chicago, from 1891.  
*Shabbosdige Post*, later with an English section, "Saturday Post," Minneapolis, 1921-1923.

##### OTHER SOURCES:

- Bismarck Tribune*, Bismarck, North Dakota, 1873 to date.  
*Daily Minnesotan*, St. Paul, 1854-1861.  
*Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, St. Paul, 1849-1875 (name varies).  
*Der Wanderer* (later, *The Wanderer*), St. Paul, from 1867.  
*Duluth Evening Herald*, under this title 1888-1910.



- Minneapolis Journal*, 1878–1939 (when it joined with *Minneapolis Star*).  
*Minneapolis Times*, 1889–1905.  
*Minnesota History*, St. Paul, 1915 to date (title varies).  
*Minnesota Medicine*, St. Paul, 1918 to date.  
*Minnesota Pioneer*, St. Paul, 1849–1855.  
*Minnesota Staats-Zeitung*, St. Paul, 1858–1877.  
*St. Paul Daily News*, 1900–1938.  
*St. Paul Dispatch*, 1868 to date.  
*St. Paul Globe* (Daily and Sunday), 1878–1905.  
*St. Paul Press*, 1861–1875.  
*St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 1854 to date (name varies).

## JEWISH ORGANIZATIONAL PUBLICATIONS

(St. Paul and Minneapolis)

- Adath Jeshurun, *Clarion*, 70th anniversary publication (Minneapolis, 1954). In archives of the Congregation.  
 Aleph Beth-Gymal Doled [Clubs], *Excursion*, [souvenir program] (St. Paul, Aug. 14, 1914). In possession of Mrs. Jesse Calmenson, St. Paul.  
 Aleph Beth [Club] *Bulletin* (St. Paul, May, 1922). In possession of Mrs. Jesse Calmenson, St. Paul.  
 Associated Charities [Minneapolis], *Annual Reports* (Minneapolis, 1910–1915). In Library of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.  
 Jewish Home for the Aged, *First Annual Report 1908–1909* (St. Paul, 1909). In Frankel papers, Minnesota Historical Society, box 17, file 2.  
 Kenesseth Israel, *Golden Anniversary* (Minneapolis, 1938). In archives of the Congregation.  
 Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation, *Fair Souvenir* (St. Paul, 1902). In Mount Zion Archives.  
 National Council of Jewish Women (Minneapolis section), *The Golden Years 1893–1943* (s.l., n. d.). In possession of Mrs. James Kantrowitz, Minneapolis.  
 Sons of Jacob, *Dedication* [Program and Book] (St. Paul, 1953). In archives of the Congregation.  
 ——— *Constitution* [in English and Yiddish] (Minneapolis, 1897). In archives of the Congregation.

## PERSONAL STATEMENTS

The author acknowledges with gratitude the contribution made by the following who, in writing or personal discussion, shared their knowledge of the past with him:

Edwin and Ira Baer (St. Paul) made available materials dealing with their father's migration and early experiences in this country (1955 and 1958).

Dr. Moses Barron (Minneapolis) told of his boyhood, in the 1890's, on a small Minnesota farm and of the growth of Zionism in the state (Dec., 1955).

Leah (Mrs. Moses) Barron told of Jewish student life at the University at the turn of the century (Dec., 1955).

Martin Birnberg (now of Los Angeles, California) told of his youth in St. Paul in the 1880's (1955).

Ida (Mrs. Harry) Davis (see Introduction).

Edward Epstein (St. Paul and Chicago) told of his youth in St. Paul in the 1880's (1955).

Benjamin H. P. Fantle (Sioux Falls, South Dakota) wrote of his grandfather,

Benjamin H. Plechner, who was a pioneer in St. Paul and Minneapolis (April, 1956).

Louis Gordon (St. Paul) told of Jewish education and Zionist work in the northern part of the state at the time of the First World War (1955).

Samuel Haas (deceased) told of his days as a St. Paul city official in the 1890's (1953).

Frances (Mrs. Julius) Heilbron (St. Paul, see also Introduction) was interviewed by her daughter, Bertha Heilbron, about her memories of Jewish life in St. Paul in the 1880's (1953; typescript in author's possession; copy in Minnesota Historical Society).

Etta (Mrs. Hyman Y.) Josephs (of Duluth) wrote of her pioneering parents and of early life in Duluth (1955-1958).

Gustave Kafka (deceased) told of his childhood in early St. Paul and about his father, Moritz, who was a sexton in Mount Zion Temple's first building (1952).

Sadye (Mrs. James) Kantrowitz (of Minneapolis) told and wrote about the early history of the Minneapolis Section of the National Council of Jewish Women, and especially about Nina Morais Cohen (1955-1958).

Abraham B. Kapplin (Washington, D. C.) wrote of Jewish life in Duluth at the time of the First World War (Aug., 1957).

Rabbi Philip Kleinman (of Portland, Oregon) wrote of his memories as a Rabbi in St. Paul at the time of the First World War (Aug. to Dec., 1955).

Jeannette Lefkowitz (of St. Paul) wrote about life in Austin and Marshall at the turn of the century (Feb., 1957).

Rose Lenit (of Chicago) wrote of her childhood in the Painted Woods colony (July, 1958).

Judge Gustavus Loevinger (deceased) told of Jewish communal life during the first decades of the century (1955).

Mayme (Mrs. Albert N., Sr.) Rose (of St. Paul) told of Jewish life at the turn of the century (1955).

Harold Rose (of St. Paul) made available family records and enlightened the author about the background and inter-relationships of the early families (1952-1954).

Dr. Robert Rosenthal (see Introduction).

Dr. Russell Rypins (San Francisco, California) made available some of his father's papers and wrote of his childhood in St. Paul (1954).

Samuel Schlesinger (deceased) told of his youth in St. Paul during the 1880's (1955).

Rabbi Mendel Silber (New Orleans, Louisiana) wrote of his memories as a Rabbi in Duluth near the turn of the century (Sept., 1958).

Tillie (Mrs. Max) Strouse (of St. Paul) told of Jewish life at the turn of the century (1956).

# Index

The occurrence of Minneapolis and St. Paul has not been indexed since the greater part of the book deals with these two cities. Only those places outside of Minnesota have been indexed which fall into the cultural radius of the state.

- Aaronheimer, A. [Arnheimer], 34, 39
- Abeles, Joseph, 58
- Aberle, Daniel, 164, 187, 220, 257; David, 220
- Abolitionists, 26
- Abraham, Emanuel, 65
- Abraham, Jacob (or Jonathan) 9, 127
- Abraham, Albert, 134
- Abrahams, Jonas, 171
- Abrahams, Marx, 66
- Abrahamson, Israel, 169
- Abrahamson, Louis, 202; Mrs., 144
- Abrahamson, Nathan, 312
- Abrahamsons, Isaac, 136; William, 135
- Abrams (family), 134; Emanuel, 134
- Abramson, Frank D., 312
- Abramovich, Dr. Joseph H., 228; Hannah, 227, 229
- Adas Israel, (Duluth), 137 f.
- Adas Israel (Duluth), 137 f.
- 111, 117 ff., 121, 158, 193, 195 ff., 199, 203, 205, 296
- Adath Jeshurun Cemetery Association, 118
- Adath Yeshurun (St. Paul), 202
- Adelsheim, Emile, 164
- Adler, S., 34
- Afton, Minn., 318
- Agudas Achim (Minneapolis), 115, 120, 205
- Agudas Achim (Hibbing), 124
- Ahabath Achim (St. Paul), 31 ff., 41, 44 ff.
- Aḥad Ha'am, 177
- Albenberg, Adolph, 134; Max, 233
- Albert Lea, Minn., 125, 318
- Alberti, Dr. Rudolph, 315
- Album, Abraham L., 64, 117
- Aleph Beth Club (St. Paul), 293
- Alexander, M., 124
- Alexander, Samuel, 64, 145, 164, 222
- Alliance Israélite Universelle, 78, 98
- Alperstein, Rabbi Abraham Eliezer, 117
- Altman, E., 63
- Altman, Max, 136
- Altowitz, Abe, 179
- American Friends of the Hebrew University, 128
- American Fur Company, 4
- American Hospital Association, 315
- American Israelite*, 51, 70, 76, 85, 98, 106, 183, 216, 240, 316
- American Jewish Conference, 251
- American Jewish Congress, 250 f.
- American Jewish World*, 166, 197, 214, 238, 298
- American Protective Association, 87, 266
- Ancker, Abram, 315; Dr. Arthur B., 315; Ella, 315; Mary, 315
- Ancker Hospital, 315
- Anglo-Jewish Association, 78
- Anoka, Minn., 318
- Ansel, Isaac, 41
- Anshe Hesed, 123
- Anshe Tavrig (Minneapolis), 120
- Anthony, Susan, 149
- Anti-Defamation League, 264, 267
- Antin, Mary, 239
- Anti-Semitism, 99 f., 263, 267, 271, 301
- Apollo Club, 162
- Appelbaum, Nathan, 200
- Arnold, Matthew, 85
- Aronsohn, Jacob, 115, 202, 228
- Aronson, Adelaide, 200



- Aronson, Hillard A., 312  
 Aronson, Rabbi David, 179, 302; Rabbi Hillel, 170  
 Asch, Sholom, 296  
 Associated Charities (Duluth), 224, 260  
 Associated Charities (St. Paul), 144  
 Associated Jewish Charities (Minneapolis), 221 f.  
 Atlas, Albert, 312  
 Auerbach (family), 290; Maurice, 47, 122  
 Austin, Minn., 125 f., 318  
 Aurora, Minn., 318  
 Austrian (family), 49, 132; Hannah Leopold (Mrs. Julius), 13 f., 57, 92, 143, 146, 153; Julius, 12 ff., 53, 58 f., 69, 97, 99; Marx, 12 ff.; Caroline (Mrs. Marx), 14.  
 Avin, Elijah, 171  
 Axelrod, Gustave, 281
- Baer, Ben, 158 f., 297; Edwin, 159; Ira, 159, 220  
 Baer, Herman, 124  
 Baireuther, Babette (Mrs. Benjamin Plechner), 311  
 Baker, Isadore, 202  
 Bamberger, Rabbi Seligman, 75  
 Bank, Meyer and Nachman, 171  
 Bankers' Union, 176  
 Baptists, 9, 28, 261  
 Barnett, Cantor Sigmund, 201  
 Barron, Jacob, 128, 130; Dr. Moses, 128 f., 131, 168, 239, 252, 278, 298; Leah (Mrs. Moses), 238  
 Bassin, Joseph, 229  
 Baszion Benevolent Society, 63  
*Bat mizwah*, 200  
 Baxter, Mrs. John T., 149  
 Bearman, Abraham N., 171, 206, 222, 304  
 Bechhoefer, Judge Charles, 167, 187, 220, 256 f.  
 Becker, Ferdinand, 42; Solomon, 34, 42  
 Beckert, S. E., 31, 33 ff.  
 Beecher, Rev. Henry Ward, 85  
 Beer Sheba Colony, 97  
 Behrens, Henry, 64  
 Beilis affair, 261  
 Bell, David C., 178; Mrs., 178  
 Belle Plaine, Minn., 318  
 Bellis, Joseph, 248  
 Bemidji, Minn., 312, 316, 318  
 Bendel, Louis, 202  
 Bentson, Benjamin and Max, 64
- Bergman, Solomon, 53, 59, 106, 134; Mrs. (Julia Schlesinger), 53  
 Berlin Committee, 98  
 Berlin, Rabbi Meyer, 296  
 Berman, David, 233, 239  
 Bernard, Jessie, 113  
 Bernheimer, Isaac, 47  
 Bernheimer, Nathan, 12  
 Bernstein, Edward, 66, 79, 164  
 Bernstein, Etka, 188  
 Bernstein, Jacob N., 199  
 Besner, Samuel, 312  
 Beth Aron (Minneapolis), 120  
 Beth El Synagogue (Minneapolis), 206 f., 296, 303  
 Beth Gedaliah Leib (St. Paul), 203  
 Beth Hamedrash Hagodol (St. Paul), 116  
 Beth Israel (St. Paul), 203  
 Beth Medrash Hagodol, (Minneapolis), 119  
 Bible, use in public schools, 85, 263 f.; study of, 175 f.  
 Bikert, S. E. (see Beckert)  
 Bikkur Cholim Society (also Bickur or Bikur Holim), 90, 140, 144 f., 219  
 Binder, John, 312  
 Birnberg, Martin, 186, 292  
 Bishop, Harriett, 4  
 Bitterman, Mrs. Adolph, 315  
 Blackduck, Minn., 318  
 Blaine School, 173 f.  
 Bleher, Morris B., 239  
 Bloom, D. and H., 124  
 Bloom, Elijah, 64  
 Bloom, Jacob, 178  
 Bloomenson, Abe, 250  
 Blue Earth, Minn., 318  
 Blue Earth County, 15  
 Blue Laws, 28  
 Blum, Abraham, 32, 34, 43  
 Blum, Louis and Nancy, 40  
 Blumenfeld, David, 178 f., 199  
 Blumenthal, Nathan S., 56, 115 f., 228  
 B'nai Abraham (Minneapolis), 117, 119, 124, 157, 205  
 B'nai B'rith, 12, 46, 58, 63 ff., 97, 106, 118, 120, 123, 133, 137 f., 140, 167, 176, 199 f., 222, 230 ff., 239, 258, 268, 295, 311  
 B'nai B'rith Free Employment Service, 118  
 B'nai Israel (Duluth), 137 f.  
 B'nai Zion, (Chisholm), 124  
 Board of Trade (St. Paul), 11

- Bodock, Louis, 312  
 Bondy, Isaac, 134; Mortimer W., 238  
 Borowsky, Louis, 171  
 Bovey, Minn., 318  
 Brainerd, Minn., 125, 318  
 Braverman, Jacob, 180  
 Breckenridge, Minn., 318  
 Bremer, Otto, 175  
 Bresky, Maurice, 171  
 Breslaw, Melissa, 84  
 Brin, Arthur, 197, 267, 297; Mrs. (Fanny), 150, 250; Esther K., 144; Lewis K. and I., 64  
 B'rith Abraham, 120, 138, 176 f., 180, 295  
 Bronstien, Samuel, 199  
 Brooks, Mrs. Hiram, 228  
 Brooks, Julius A., 227  
 Brussell, David, 200  
 Brown, Bernard A., 312  
 Brown, Charles F., 312  
 Browntown, Minn., 318  
 Bruno, Minn., 318  
 Bublick, Solomon, 252 f., 297  
 Buchanan, President James, 25  
 Buchman, Robert, 136  
 Buffalo, Minn., 318  
 Buhl, Minn., 250, 318  
 Bureau of Jewish Education (St. Paul), 175  
 Burgheim, Rabbi J., 73 f.  
 Burnquist, Governor Joseph A. A., 297  
 Burton, Anna Brin, 144  
 Burton, Mary, 227, 229  
 Burton, Robert, 312  
 Busch, Pauline, 118  
 Butwinnick, Herman J., 175, 200, 229  
  
 Cable, Wis., 94  
 Cali, Henry, 30 ff., 34 f., 41; Fannie, 41  
 Calvin, Carl, 233  
 Calmenson (family), 90, 231; Abraham M., 90, 199, 239, 251; Mrs. Abraham, 294; Benjamin, 90, 167, 232; Ethel, 167, 248; Jesse B., 90, 214, 233, 239, 241, 251, 280 f., 290, 294, 298; Mrs. Jesse (Bertha), 239, 251 f.; Moses, 56, 90, 115, 178, 251, 297, 312; Rose (Mrs. Harry Rosenthal), 90.  
 Calumet, Minn., 318  
 Cambridge, Minn., 318  
 Capitol City Hebrew Free School, 115, 174 f., 203 f., 226  
 Capitol Community Center, 221  
 Caplin, Abraham W., 145  
 Caplin, G., 312  
 Cardozo (family), 48; Isaac A., 64; Isaac N., 35, 46, 58, 256; Rachel, 46; Mrs. Ralph N., 258  
 Catholics, 25, 28, 38, 84, 87 f., 97, 261, 265 f., 271 f., 276 f., 282, 288 f.  
 Central Conference of American Rabbis, 265, 298, 317  
 Charity Loan Society, 144  
 Charity Loan Society and Old Women's Home, 227  
 Chautauqua Society, 126  
 Chedeck, Benjamin, 178  
 Chiel, Rabbi Arthur, 11  
 Chippewa, 3, 10  
 Chippewa Falls, Wis., 123  
 Chisholm, Minn., 124, 235, 238, 250, 312, 318  
 Christians, Christian-Jewish relations, 28, 57, 72, 82 ff., 94, 99, 160, 166, 173, 178, 187 f., 202, 212, 237, 240 f., 245, 247, 254 f., 257, 261 ff., 268, 271, 281, 290  
 Church and State, 263 f.  
 Churni, Abraham B., 199  
 Cinch Club, 161  
 Civil War, 10, 12 f., 20, 22, 26, 29, 38, 41, 50, 54, 64, 71, 132, 141, 147, 232, 311, 316  
 Clara de Hirsch Society, 180  
 Cloquet, Minn., 318  
 Coddon, Isaac, 312; Louis D., 220; Moses, 312; Samuel, 56, 204; Mrs., 144  
 Cohen, David, 117  
 Cohen, Emanuel, 148, 164, 229, 250, 256, 260, 270, 293; Mrs. (Nina Morais), 147 ff., 164 f., 197, 256, 260  
 Cohen, Rev. Emanuel, 203  
 Cohen, George, 312  
 Cohen, Gladys, 200  
 Cohen, "Goodie," 136  
 Cohen, Dr. Isaac N., 73 ff., 83, 164, 185; Mrs., 228  
 Cohen, Jacob, 64 f., 164, 171; Mrs., 144  
 Cohen, Jacob S., 198  
 Cohen, Lillian, 168  
 Cohen, Louis, 137  
 Cohen, Mrs. Max, 226  
 Cohen, Nathan B., 56, 115  
 Cohen, Dr. Nathan N., 171, 239  
 Cohen, Sol, 229  
 Cohn, Rabbi 217  
 Colbrath, Corah L., 128  
 Cold Springs, Minn., 127

- Cole (*see* Cali)  
 Coleraine, Minn., 318  
 College Women's Club, 149  
 Commercial Club, 87 f.  
 Confirmation, introduction of, 70  
 Congregation Aaron (*see* Temple of Aaron)  
 Congregationalists, 261  
 Conhaim, Maurice, 220  
 Conscription Act, 245  
 Conservative Judaism, 192 ff., 205, 207 f., 227, 234, 296, 298, 304  
 Conversion, 66 f., 126 f.  
 Cook, Ida, 136; Isaac, 136 f.; Moses S., 136, 138  
 Cooper, Charles I., 282  
 Cooperman, Oscar, 168  
 Copilovich, Henry, 128  
 Copilowich, Samuel B., 233, 238, 297  
 Coran, Abbe Yakir, 136  
 Cornfield (family), 124  
 Cottonwood, Minn., 126  
 Cottonwood County, 315  
 Council of Jewish Women (*see* National Council of Jewish Women)  
 Council Sabbath School, 151  
 Countryman, Gratia, 149  
 Cowen, Charles, 238  
 Crafts, Dr. William F., 264  
 Craig, Hugh, 276  
 Crookston, Minn., 94, 318  
 Crosby, Minn., 318  
 Crosby, Samuel, 199  
 Crump, Jennie Scott, 77  
 Currie, Constance, 155
- Dakota County, 19  
 Dakota [Stillwater], 4  
 Dakota language, 61  
 Dakota Relief Committee, 106  
 Damascus affair, 7  
 Danenbaum, Ruby, 65, 164  
 Danube, Minn., 318  
 David, Haim, 175  
 Davidovitz, S., 205  
 Davis, Harry, 168; Mrs. (Ida B.), 134, 224  
 Davis, Joseph M., 164, 233  
 Davis, Rose, 164  
 Daughters of Zion, 116  
*Dearborn Independent*, 271  
 Deborah Society, 224, 294  
 De Haas, Jacob, 239, 296  
 Deinard, Rabbi Samuel N., 63, 116, 135, 145, 154, 166 ff., 178 f., 191, 197, 199, 210, 213 ff., 228, 233, 239, 249 ff., 254, 257, 264 f., 290, 298, 300, 303, 317  
 Democrats, 19, 26, 112, 127, 257, 259  
 Dennison, Minn., 318  
 Deutsch, Henry, 65, 179; Jacob, 65; Marlichen, 164  
 Devil's Lake Colony, 104 ff., 141, 162  
 Diamantenberg, Dr. Noah, 315  
 Dickson, Judge Frederick N., 175  
 Diechek, I., 64  
 Dittenhofer [Dittenhoefer] (family), 144, 158; Herman, 65; Jacob, 155, 159, 164, 190, 220 f., 249 f., 257; Minnie, 256; Samuel, 159, 164, 245, 255, 257  
 Dodge County, 315  
 Dockman, Michael, 118  
 Donnelly, Ignatius, 26, 288  
 Dorfman, Samuel, 124  
 Dorshe Zion, 178  
 Dreschler, William, 43  
 Dreyfus affair, 87 ff., 177  
 Dreyfus, Jeanne, 264  
 Druck, Mrs. Bernard, 263  
 Duluth, Minn., 13, 53, 123, 132 ff., 191, 207, 224, 231 ff., 235, 244, 250, 252 f., 260 f., 293, 297, 299, 302, 304, 311, 318  
 Duluth Chamber of Commerce, 134  
 Duluth Hebrew Cooperative Farmers Association, 224  
 Duluth Jewish Federation and Community Council, 224  
 Duluth Talmud Torah, 224  
 Dworsky, Edward J., 312  
 Dymenberg, Noa (*see* Diamantenberg)
- Eberhart, Governor Adolph A., 257  
 Edelman, Harris, 314  
 Edelman, Meyer I., 135  
 Edelman, Mrs. Harry, 145  
 Edelstein, Belzama H., 124  
 Edelstein, Maurice, 199; Ruth and Sylvia, 200  
 Eden Valley, Minn., 127, 260  
 Edgeley, N. D., 52  
 Effinger, Rev. John R., 83  
 Ehrlich, Leopold, 65 f.  
 Einhorn, Rabbi David, 185  
 Eisenberg, Rabbi David K., 134 f.  
 Eisenstadt, Nathan, 171  
 Elfelt (family), 10, 12, 15, 132; Abram, 11, 19, 58; Charles, 11, 23; Edwin, 12.  
 Elfenbein, David, 177



- Elijah, Gaon of Vilna, 115  
 Eliot, Rev. Frederick, 241  
 Elkins, Mrs. Delia, 315  
 Elks, 274  
 Ellis, Sam, 250  
 Ellsworth, Minn., 318  
 Elsinger (family), 158; Joseph, 164, 262; William H., 257, 262  
 Ely, Minn., 250, 318  
 Emanuel Cohen Center, 149  
 EneLOW, Rabbi Hyman S., 210  
 Engler, Maurice, 233  
 Episcopalians, 28, 241, 254, 261 f.  
 Eppstein, Rabbi Elias, 52, 57 f.  
 Eppstein, L., 164  
 Epstein, Edward, 186  
 Ettinger, S., 34  
 Euchre Club, 161  
 Eustis, Mayor William H., 119  
 Eveleth, Minn., 124, 127 f., 235, 250, 318  
 Ezra (Club, Minneapolis), 180  
 Fairmont, Minn., 125  
 Faller, Isaac, 65  
 Fantle, Benjamin H. P., 311  
 Farbstein, Mrs. Adolph, 171, 229  
 Faribault, Minn., 318  
 Farmington, Minn., 312  
 Farwell, Minn., 312  
 Feder, Ike, 171  
 Feigelman, Israel B., 312  
 Feigelman, Louis, 239, 253  
 Feist, Sophia (see Wirth)  
 Feldman, Morris, 124  
 Feldstein, Morris, 200  
 Felsenthal, Rabbi Bernard, 222, 238; Julia, 222 f., 238 f.  
 Ferber, Joseph, 312  
 Fergus Falls, Minn., 318  
 Feuerlicht, Rabbi Morris, 77  
 Feweles (Fewell), Louis H., 171  
 Field, Gladys and Harold (see also Pflaum), 65  
 Finberg, Abraham, 249  
 Fineberg Brothers, 296  
 Fink, Jacob, 9  
 Finkelstein, Alec, 199  
 Finkelstein, Moses L., 220, 227 f., 249 f., 271  
 Finkelson, N. E., 312  
 Firestone, Estelle, 167; Milton P., 168, 234 f., 258, 268, 298; Rose (Mrs. Alan), 221  
 Fishblatt, Dr. Edward, 315  
 Fisher, Asa, 99  
 Flandrau, Charles E., 21  
 Florsheim, Ida, 158  
 Flegenheimer, Albert N and Fannie, 45  
 Fleischer (family), 125  
 Flesh, Matilda (Mrs. Henry Iliowizi), 81  
 Fligelman, Fanny (Mrs. Arthur Brin), 168, 197; Sol, 221, 239, 241, 298; Leah (see Mrs. Moses Barron)  
 Foley, Minn., 318  
 Folsom, William H. C., 9  
 Fonseca, William Gomez, 11  
 Ford, Henry, 271  
 Fortnightly Club (St. Paul), 112, 161  
 Fort St. Anthony, 3  
 Fort Snelling, 3, 4, 20, 245  
 Fox, Anna L., 222 f.  
 Fox, Dr. George L., 245  
 Fox, Mrs. Solomon, 143  
 Frank, Max and Sarah, 164  
 Frankel, David, 167  
 Frankel, Eugene, 312  
 Frankel, Hiram D., 113, 120, 164, 227, 230 ff., 245 f., 250, 258 f., 264, 267 ff., 270, 272, 281, 312  
 Frankel, Dr. Lee K., 219  
 Frankel, Louis R., 154, 232, 250  
 Frankel, Max, 230, 232; Mrs. (Josephine), 143, 152  
 Frankel, Michael, 232  
 Frazee, Minn., 318  
 Fredman, Stella, 200  
 Free Burial Society, 145  
 Freeman, David (see Freedman, T. D.)  
 Freedman, T. D., 313  
 Freeman, James E., 241  
 Free Sons of Israel, 64, 176 f.  
 Freimuth, Ignatz, 134 f.  
 Freudenthaler [Leopold], 13  
 Frey, Rabbi Sigmund, 134 f.  
 Fried, Max, 200  
 Friedlander, Esther, 274  
 Friedman, Rabbi Aaron, 171, 217  
 Friedman, Henry, 66 f.  
 Friedman, John, 249 f.  
 Friedman, Joseph, 127, 260  
 Friedman, Newton S., 224  
 Frisch, David and Joseph, 171  
 Frisch, Leo, 214, 298  
 Freuder, Rabbi Samuel, 161, 187, 262  
 Fulda, Minn., 318  
 Gallick, Henry, 257  
 Galtier, Father Lucian, 4

- Gannet, Rev. William C., 86  
 Garon, Joseph, 124  
 Geiger, Rabbi Abraham, 185  
 Gelb, Ike, 239  
 Gelb, Rabbi Saadia, 170  
 Gemelus Chessed (Minneapolis), 180, 205  
 Gemilas Chased (Minneapolis), 145  
 Gentile-Jewish relationships, 106, 129, 159, 162, 212, 233, 261 ff., 266 ff., 273 ff., 280 f., 290  
 Gentlemen's Relief Society, 141, 146  
 George, Henry, 216  
 German Jews, 13, 34 f., 39 f., 43, 48 ff., 55, 59, 70 f. 78, 91, 101 f., 111 ff., 138, 140, 160, 176, 193, 222, 231, 259, 270, 289 f., 294 f.  
 Germany, Jews in, 48 ff.  
 Gibbon, Minn., 312, 318  
 Gilbert, Minn., 250, 318  
 Gilfillan, Chief Justice James, 85  
 Ginsberg, Isaac, 226  
 Ginsberg, Rabbi Lewis, 171  
 Ginzler, Rabbi Arthur, 198  
 Gittleman, Jacob, 312  
 Gittelson (family), 197; Simon, 64 f., 117; Mrs., 144  
 Gittelson, Josiah, 314  
 Glueck, Rev., 134  
 Goffstein, A., 116  
 Gold, Philip, 180  
 Goldbarg, Isadore G., 233, 236, 270  
 Goldberg, Abraham, 175, 248  
 Goldberg, Samuel J., 198 f.; Mrs., 199  
 Goldberg, Mrs. Saul, 238  
 Goldbloom, Keevey, 314  
 Goldbloom, Sol, 202  
 Goldblum, David, 250  
 Goldblum, Rabbi Moshe, 170  
 Goldburg, Rabbi Robert E., 77  
 Goldman, Abraham, 118  
 Goldman, Benjamin, 293  
 Goldman, Julius, 96 f.  
 Goldman, Mary T., 295  
 Goldman, Mrs. Sarah, 220  
 Goldstein, Rabbi David, 170  
 Goldstein, Harriet, 168  
 Goldstein [Goldstien], Jacob, 312 f.  
 Goldstein, Nathan, 312  
 Goldstein, Solomon H. (see Goldstone)  
 Goldstein, William, 136  
 Goldstone [Goldstein], Cantor Solomon H., 199, 201  
 Golling, Benjamin C., 227, 281  
 Goloven, Dr. Alex, 239  
 Gomberg, Jeanette, 238  
 Compers, Samuel, 240  
 Goodhue, James, 7, 24, 27  
 Goodkind (family), 50, 155, 158 ff., 164; Benjamin L., 226; Fannie, 160; Louis, 59, 232; Morris, 60; William L., 220; Mrs. William, 146  
 Goodman, Daniel, 43, 58, 312  
 Goodman, David and Wolf, 56  
 Goodman, Frances (see Heilbron)  
 Gordon, Rabbi Albert I., 63, 110, 222, 282 f.  
 Gordon, Dr. George J., 118, 168, 170 ff., 206, 216, 239, 251 f., 297; Baer, 172; Mrs. George (Sophie Weinberg), 172; Rabbi Theodore, 170.  
 Gordon, Jacob, 176; Rabbi Harold, 171, 176  
 Gordon, Isador, 124  
 Gordon, Louis, 124 f., 200, 239, 253  
 Gorman, Governor Willis A., 32  
 Gottheil, Rabbi Gustave, 317  
 Gottschall, Louis (family), 125  
 Grand Forks, N. D., 233  
 Grand Rapids, Minn., 318  
 Grasston, Minn., 318  
 Great Northern Railroad, 99  
 Greenberg, David, 178; Mrs. 227  
 Greenberg, Max, 124  
 Greenberg, Mrs. Morris, 124  
 Greenberg, Nettie (Epstein), 236  
 Greenberg, Philip, 108, 296  
 Greenblatt, Mrs. David, 144  
 Greenblatt, Max, 124  
 Greenwald, Abraham, 9, 30, 31, 39  
 Greenwald, Rabbi Milton, 315  
 Greve, Sigmund, 60  
 Griggs, Chauncey W., 86  
 Grodinsky, Helen, 219, 221 f.  
 Gronauer, Joseph, 65  
 Grosby, Samuel L., 200, 233; Mrs. 199  
 Gross, Louis, 135  
 Gross, Dr. Samuel, 233, 297  
 Grossman, Bessie, 200  
 Grossman, Samuel, 199; Mrs., 229  
 Gruen, Dr. Samuel, 135  
 Gruenberg, Aaron, 118; Benjamin, 117; John, 117  
 Guiterman (family), 50, 158; Ambrose, 60, 160, 164, 179, 220; Leo, 220  
 Gulbrandson, Herman, 312  
 Gumbiner, Nathan, 117; Mrs., 144, 151  
 Gundelfinger, M., 34  
 Gymal Doled Club (Minneapolis), 247, 293

- Haas, Edward, 257; Rachel, 113, 151;  
     Samuel H., 257  
 Hachnosas Orchim, 144 f.  
 Hadassah, 237  
 Hallock, Charles and John, 124  
 Halpern, Jacob, 138  
 Hammel, Louis, 134 f.  
 Hammond, Minn., 129  
 Hammond, Governor Winfield S., 257  
 Handlin, Oscar, 294  
*Hanukkah*, 84, 147  
 Harmony Club, 161  
 Harpman, Jacob, 65, 105 f., 164; Dena,  
     164  
 Harriman, Edward H., 158  
 Harris, Barney W., 296  
 Harris brothers, 65  
 Harris, Mrs. Dora, 145  
 Harris, Harry, 198 f., 227 f., 296  
 Harris, Isaac, 314  
 Harris, Louis, 175  
 Harris, Marks H., 118  
 Harris, Michael, 311  
 Harris, Sigmund, 168  
 Harris, William B., 296  
 Hart, Amiel, 14  
 Hart, Selah, 47  
 Haskell, William E., 179  
 Hastings, Minn., 50, 318  
 Hat, removal of, 79, 186 f.  
 Hatikwah Club, 294  
 Hayes, President Rutherford B., 21  
 Hays, Cecile, 155  
 Hay Vov Club (Duluth), 293  
*Hazzan*, early engagement of, 30 f., 34,  
     37, 46, 53  
*Hebrah Kaddishah*, 140 ff.  
 Hebrew Aid and Emigrant Society of  
     St. Paul, 96, 98  
 Hebrew Free Loan Society, 145, 217  
 Hebrew Free School, 119  
 Hebrew Institute and Sheltering Home,  
     174  
 Hebrew Ladies Aid Society, 219  
 Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society (St.  
     Paul), organization of, 57, 125, 141  
     ff., 146, 151 ff., 316 (see also Mount  
     Zion)  
 Hebrew League, 180  
 Hebrew Social Club, 59  
 Hector, Minn., 318  
 Heilbron, Bertha, 43, 59, 76; Doris, 43;  
     Frances G. (Mrs. Julius), 43, 59, 76;  
     Julius, 122; Laura, 43  
 Heiman, Hirsch (see Hyman)  
 Heiman, Isidor, 59  
 Heiman, Rabbi Yisrael, 171  
 Heller, Rabbi Abraham M., 206, 296  
 Heller, Ben, 134, 164; Ida, 164  
 Heller, Max, 317  
 Helstein, Morris, 136  
 Hermantown, Minn., 312  
 Herscovitz, Mrs. Samuel, 228  
 Hershon, Rabbi Ralph B., 125  
 Hertz, Aaron, 178  
 Hertz, Harry, 199 f.; Mrs., 199  
 Herzberg, Charles, 127  
 Herzl, Theodor, 130, 177 f.  
 Hess, Rabbi Emanuel, 86, 105, 154 f.,  
     161, 167, 175, 188, 217, 262 f.; Julia,  
     86, 113, 151 f., 166 f.; Sylvan, 167,  
     220, 230, 232, 235, 248  
 Hibbing, Minn., 235, 250, 318  
 Higham, John, 284  
 Hill, James J., 108, 159  
 Hinckley, Minn., 128  
 Hirsch Fund, Baron de, 98, 104, 131,  
     148  
 Hirsch, Rabbi Emil G., 80, 166  
 Hirsch, George, 126  
 Hirsch, Rabbi Samson Raphael, 188  
 Hirschfelder, Arthur D., 168  
 Hirschman, Adolph, 158, 190, 220, 248;  
     Benjamin M., 164, 229, 232  
 Hirshberg, H., 34  
 Hirshler, G., 34  
 Hodgson, Lawrence, 241  
 Hoffman, Nathan L., 312  
 Hoffman, William, 155  
 Hormel, George, 126  
 Home, Louis, 199  
 Horowitz, Henry, 198  
 Horwitz, Aaron, 246  
 Horwitz, H., 171  
 Horwitz, Hershel, 239  
 Horwitz, Dr. Lloyd N., 316  
 Houston, Minn., 318  
 Hubbard, Governor Lucius F., 86  
 Hunter, Dr. Robert, 316  
 Hurvitch, Joseph, 312  
 Hurwitz, Henry, 168  
 Hurvitz, Rabbi Joseph B., 203 f., 234  
 Hutchinson, Minn., 125  
 Hyman, Hirsch, 34, 39, 42  
 Ida Cook Hebrew School, 136 f.  
 Iliowizi, Rabbi Henry, 67, 78 ff., 191,  
     196, 213, 217  
 Immigrant Agricultural Aid Society, 100  
 Independent Western Star, 177



- Indians, 5, 14, 27, 47, 277  
 Indian War, 311  
 Industrial School, 152, 154  
 International Falls, Minn., 318  
 Ireland, Archbishop John, 88, 97, 288  
 Isaacs, Mayer, 222  
 Isaacs, Myer Samuel, 97 f.  
 Isaacs, Leopold, 59  
*Israelite* (see *American Israelite*)  
*Israelite of the Twin Cities, The*, 166  
 Iron Range, 124 f., 127, 235, 249, 260, 273, 297  
 Jabotinsky, Vladimir, 296  
 Jacobs, Berthold, 159  
 Jacobs, Mrs. Edward, 135  
 Jacobs, Samuel, 164  
 Jacobs, Samuel G., 65  
 Jacobs, Simon, 56, 115  
 Jacobson, Joseph, 171  
 Jacobson, Mitchell S., 198  
 Jacobson, Rabbi Moses P., 265  
 Jacobi, Mrs. F., 125  
 Jacoby, George G., 65, 164  
 Jaffa, Rabbi Isaac, 119, 314  
 Jaffe, Isaac, 224  
 Jasper, Minn., 318  
 Jeffery, David, 117; Ira Weil, 117; Michael, 117 f.  
 Jewish Aid Association, 145  
 Jewish Charities, 154  
 Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, 222  
 Jewish Day Nursery, 154  
 Jewish Educational Center (St. Paul), 90, 175  
 Jewish Family and Children's Service (Minneapolis), 223  
 Jewish Family Service Association (Minneapolis), 223  
 Jewish Family Welfare Association (Minneapolis), 206, 223  
 Jewish Home and Free Dispensary, 145, 217  
 Jewish Home for the Aged (of the Northwest), 90, 118, 144, 226 f., 228, 295  
 Jewish Legion, 244, 312, 314  
 Jewish Library Association, 176  
 Jewish Literary Society, 168  
*Jewish Messenger*, 76  
 Jewish National Fund, 241  
*Jewish Progress of the Twin Cities*, 166  
 Jewish Publication Society, 125, 166, 298  
 Jewish Relief Fund Association, 248  
 Jewish Relief Society, 146, 153 f., 218, 220 f.  
 Jewish Shelter Home for Children (Minneapolis), 118, 206, 229  
 Jewish Study Circle, 167  
 Jewish War Relief, 250  
*Jewish Weekly*, 214  
 Jewish Welfare Association, 221  
 Johnson, Governor John A., 257  
 Johnson, General Richard W., 94  
 Jordan, Minn., 318  
 Joseph, Aaron (see Mark, Aaron), 90  
 Joseph, Isadore Samuel, 298  
 Josephs, Hyman Y., 135, 137, 250, 297; Mrs. (Etta Cook), 136, 224  
 Josephs, S., 31  
 Judah family, 46  
*Judean, The*, 166  
 Junior Self-Denial Club, 249  
 Juster, Charles, 145, 222  
 Kafka, Gustave, 52; Moritz, 52  
 Kahn, Rabbi Alfred H., 198 f., 234, 239, 248  
 Kahn, Isaac D., 244; Leon L. and Norman D., 312  
 Kahn, Julius, 216  
 Kallen, Horace, 168, 239  
 Kalman family, 290  
 Kamman, Ira, 233  
 Kaner (family), 135  
 Kanter, Alex, 233, 239  
 Kantrowitz, Joseph, 65, 105; Sadye (Mrs. James), 148 ff.  
 Kaplan, David, 312  
 Kaplan, George, 203  
 Kaplan, Rabbi Harry, 170  
 Kaplan, Rabbi Mordecai M., 168  
 Kapplin, Abraham B., 233, 238, 245, 297  
 Karon (family), 135; Ben, 124; Fannie, 224; L., 138  
*Kashrut*, 36, 50, 181, 194  
 Kasovitz, Moses, 118  
 Katkov, Norman, 155  
 Katsky, J. (family), 125  
 Katz, Irving, 70  
 Katz, Maurice, 312  
 Katz, Reuben M., 198 f.  
 Katz, Shlomo, 155  
 Kaufman, Abraham, 56  
 Kaufman, Adam, 312  
 Kaufman, Reuben, 198

- Kaufman, Shulman, 117  
 Kaufmann, Isaac, 222  
 Kayser, Emanuel, 65, 164  
 Keller, Mayor Herbert, 175  
 Kellogg, Clara N., 155  
 Keneseth Israel (Minneapolis), 119 f.,  
 171 f., 205, 217, 253, 314 f.  
 Kenner, A., 124  
 Keshar Shel Barzel, 123  
 Kinney, Minn., 318  
 Kishineff pogroms, 248  
 Kitz, Jacob (family), 124  
 Kitzville, Minn., 124  
 Kiwanis Club, 274  
 Klatsky, Abraham J., 136  
 Klein, Gustav A., 233  
 Klein, Herman, 312  
 Klein, Joseph A., 135  
 Kleinman, Anna (*see also* Schwartz,  
 Mrs. Louis B.), 200; Rabbi Philip, 119  
 ff., 239, 243, 298, 303  
 Knights and Ladies of Security, 176  
 Knights of Zion, 239  
 Know-Nothings, 25 f.  
 Kodivrim, 238 f.  
 Kolliner, Robert, 164, 168  
 Kolontersky, Mrs. Ida, 228  
 Koritowsky, Abraham, 43  
 Kovarsky, Herman, 116  
 Kovarsky, Simon, 202  
 Kovitz, C. J., 11, 40  
 Krakauer, Gustav, 220  
 Kramer, Louis, 233  
 Krass, Rabbi Nathan, 253, 297  
 Krawetz, Joseph, 239  
 Kreidberg, Cantor Eli, 201, 204, 254  
 Kreiner, Israel, 239  
 Kruger, Mrs. Benjamin, 145, 151  
 Krutzkoff, (family), 144; Abel, 64 f.  
 Ku Klux Klan, 255, 272, 282
- Labovich, Lawrence, 312  
 Labowitz, Rabbi Jerome, 170  
 LaCrosse, Wis., 15, 84, 123  
 Ladies Aid Society, 116  
 Ladies Thursday Musical, 165  
 Lady Zionists, 237  
 Lafayette Club, 161  
 Lafayette School, 259  
 Lake Calhoun, Minn., 61  
 Lake City, Minn., 318  
 Lake Crystal, Minn., 318  
 Lake Harriet, Minn., 285  
 Lake Minnetonka, Minn., 150
- Lake Nokomis, Minn., 285  
 Lake Rest Vacation Home (White Bear,  
 Minn.), 220  
 Lake Superior, Minn., 3, 10, 13 f., 132 f.  
 Lande, Dr. David H., 316  
 LaPointe, Wis., 13  
 Lauchheim, S., 63  
 Lavansky, Max, 227 f.; Mrs., 144, 227,  
 229  
 Lazarus, Mrs. Abraham, 144  
 Lazarus, Moses, 171  
 Lebendiger, Rabbi Israel, 207, 302  
 Lederer, Isaac, 257  
 Leeson, Rabbi Isaac, 24, 51, 147  
 Lefkovits, Rabbi Maurice, 138 f., 191,  
 233, 238, 250, 252 f., 273 f., 300,  
 302, 317  
 Lefkovitz, Jeannette, 125  
 LeGro, Fannie C., 173  
 Lehmaier, Mamie, 151  
 Leifman, Rabbi Morton, 170  
 Lenit, Rose, 99  
 Leon (*see* Lion)  
 Leopold, Henry and Asa, 134  
 Leopold, Hannah (*see* Austrian)  
 Leopold, Lewis, 12  
 Lerner, Max, 279  
 LeSueur, Minn., 312, 318  
 Levant, Samuel, 124  
 Levens, Rabbi Monroe, 170  
 Levi, Albert, Gerson, Meyer, 65  
 Levi, Nannie S. (*see* Rose family)  
 Levin, Leo, 312  
 Levin, Shmaryahu, 239  
 Levin, Rabbi Solomon I., 171, 205  
 Levine, Jacob L., 137 f.  
 Levine, Joseph, 178, 202  
 Levinson, Dora, 204  
 Levinson, Max, 124  
 Levinson, Rabbi Peter, 77  
 Levy, Abraham, 47  
 Levy, Harry L., 164  
 Levy, Rabbi I. Leonard, 166  
 Levy, Joseph 198 f., 227 ff., 235, 296  
 Levy, Louis C., 164  
 Levy, Mark, 262  
 Levy, Philip and Sigmund, 134  
 Levy, Solomon, 125  
 Lewis, Harry, 209  
 Lewis, Ike, Julius, Max, 124  
 Libbey, Hannah D., 220 f., 226, 249  
 Libman, Isaac, 249  
 Lichtenauer, Moses, 59  
 Lichtenberg, Rev. Isaac, 116

- Lifschitz, Benjamin, 229  
 Lind, Jenny, 17  
 Lion, Kalmon, 30 ff., 33 f., 37, 43, 76;  
     Mrs. (Dina Lederer), 43; Fanny  
     Goodman, 43 (*see also* Heilbron)  
 Lion's Club, 274  
 Lippman, B., 124  
 Lippman, Harry Shalett, 178  
 Lipschitz, Rabbi Moishele, 205  
 Literary Society, 162  
 Lithuanian Jews, 110  
 Litman, Fannie, 56, 90 f., 127  
 Loeb, Louis S., 134 f., 137; Sam, 134  
 Loevinger, Gustavus, 167 f., 214, 220,  
     230, 235 f., 238, 241, 244, 248, 251  
     f., 257, 268  
 Loewenstein, David, 65  
 Loewenthal, William, 123  
 Long Prairie, Minn., 15  
 Loss, Hyman, 168  
 Lovenstein, Levi, 230  
 Lowenthal, Nathan, 171, 314  
 Lowitz, David, 41; Elias, 41, 47  
 Loyal Mystic Legion of America, 176  
 Luchs, Rabbi Alvin, 302  
 Ludvig, Samuel, 24 f.  
 Lussan, Jacob, 224  
 Lutherans, 127, 261, 266, 288  
  
 Macalester College, 86  
 Machinsky, Raphael, 56  
 Magbiah Society, 224  
 Magnes, Rabbi Judah L., 249, 317  
 Maier, Rabbi Reuben, 124  
 Mandan Indians, 313  
 Manhattan Club, 162  
 Mankato, Minn., 15, 47, 50, 123, 135,  
     318  
 Mannheimer (family), 50, 290; Emil,  
     49 f.; Gottfried [Godfrey], 49; Jacob,  
     50; Louis, 49; Mina, 49; Dr. Moritz,  
     49; Robert, 49 f., 259  
 Mannheimer, Rabbi Eugene, 231, 236  
 Mansion House Committee (London),  
     91, 94 f.  
 Manson, Max, 124; Walter, 250  
 Maple Ridge Township, Minn., 318  
 Marble, Minn., 318  
 Marcuson, Rev. Emanuel, 37 f.  
 Margolis, Reuben Hirsch, 116  
 Mark, Aaron (family), 90, 136; Aaron,  
     56, 126, 198, 226, 244, 312; Mrs.  
     (Bessie), 56, 90, 144, 229, 244, 297;  
     Abraham S., 200, 244; David Ben-  
     jamin, 316; Emmet, 126 f., 200; Has-  
     kell, 56; Joseph, 55 f., 316; Milton,  
     243 f., 312; Vernon Herschel, 316  
 Mark, Mayme (Mrs. Samuel J. Gold-  
     berg), 237  
 Markowitz, Charles, 243  
 Marks, Henry, 31, 39, 43  
 Marks, Isaac, 15, 35; Mrs. (Anna Schoff-  
     man), 15  
 Marks, Rabbi Isaac and Rabbi Samuel,  
     191  
 Marks, Morris, 39, 43  
 Markus, Peter, 250  
 Marshall, Minn., 126  
 Marx, Ben, 221, 229  
 Marx, Bernard, 220  
 Marx, M., 34  
 Masons, 15, 23, 274  
 Matsner, Sidonie (Gruenberg), 117  
 Matt, Rabbi C. David, 197, 199, 201,  
     214, 217, 223 f., 229, 239, 245, 250,  
     252, 298, 303 ff.  
 Maxman, Julius, 60; Eugenie, 221  
*Mazzot*, 91  
 McDonald, Hope, 149  
 McGolrich, Bishop James, 262  
 McWilliams, Carey, 275 f., 280, 282 f.,  
     285  
 Meiss (family), 125  
 Melamed, Louis, 116, 236  
 Melrose, Minn., 318  
 Mendelson, Julius, 30 f., 39, 43  
 Mendota, Minn., 19  
 Menefee, Selden C., 275  
 Menorah Society, 168, 299  
 Mertzig, Rabbi Moshe, 52  
 Mesberg, John, 124  
*Meshullahim*, 143  
 Messing, Rabbi Henry J., 163  
 Methodists, 28, 205, 261  
 Metzger, Leopold, 164; Mollie, 149 f.  
 Metzger, Louis, 65  
 Meyer, Charles P., 136  
 Meyerowitz, Rabbi Jacob I., 220, 231  
 Meyers, Aaron, 40  
 Meyers, David, 171  
 Meyers, J. Edward, 254  
 Meyers (family), 164, 256; Henry, 256;  
     Simon, 164, 256, 260; Viola, 256  
 Meyers, S., 40  
 Michaels, Jane Smit, 144, 164  
 Michaels, Joseph L., 60, 164; Mrs., 151  
 Michaels, Lewis, 65  
 Michaels, Rebecca, 150, 245  
 Mickler, Rabbi Hyam, 117, 202  
 Mikolas (family), 65; Lillian, 237



- Mikro Kodesh (Minneapolis), 120 f., 205  
*Mikveh*, 91  
 Milavetz, Ben, 124; Sam, 124; Mrs. 249  
 Mille Lacs, Minn. 126, 260  
 Miller, Rabbi Ignatz, 217  
 Minda, Rabbi Albert G., 303  
*Minhag Amerika*, 183 f.  
 Minneapolis (see note on p. 331)  
 Minneapolis Auto Club, 276  
 Minneapolis Club, 149  
 Minneapolis Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society, 144 f.  
 Minneapolis Jewish Conference, 303  
 Minneapolis Talmud Torah, 120, 170 ff., 226, 228 f.  
 Minnesota Historical Society, 12, 36  
 Minnesota Militia, 312  
 Minnesota Rabbinical Association, 84, 216  
 Minnesota Women's Suffrage Association, 149  
 Mirsky, Abraham, 242  
 Mirviss, Jacob, 229; Meyer D., 118  
 Mizrahi Zionist Organization, 204  
 Modern Brotherhood of America, 176 f.  
 Modern Samaritans, 176  
 Modern Woodmen of America, 176  
 Mogilner, Dr. Samuel N., 233, 239  
*Mohel*, early engagement of, 37  
 Monasch, Isadore, 65; George, 233; William, 145, 164, 233  
 Mondschine (family), 134; Mrs. F. L., 137  
 Monsky, Henry, 230, 236  
 Montefiore Burial Association, 63 f.  
 Montefiore, Sir Moses, 85, 103, 123  
 Montevideo, Minn., 318  
 Moorhead, Minn., 318  
 Mora, Minn., 318  
 Morais, Rabbi Sabato, 147 f., 197  
 Morais, Nina (see Cohen)  
 Morganstern, Laura (Mrs. Joseph G. Simon), 164  
 Morgenthau, A., 312  
 Morris, David, 209  
 Morris, Minn., 129  
 Morristown Township, Minn., 318  
 Mortara affair, 25, 177  
 Moses, Dinah, 78  
 Moses, Mary C., 274  
 Moses Montefiore Congregation (Duluth), 137  
 Moses Montefiore Hebrew Institute, 207  
 Moses Montefiore Hebrew School, 136  
 Moses, Solomon, 312  
 Masliansky, Zevi Hirsch, 249  
 Moss (family), 145, 164; Maurice, 164  
 Mossinson, Benzion, 239  
 Mother's Aid Organization, 244  
 Mountain Iron, Minn., 318  
 Mount Sinai Hebrew Association (see Mount Zion)  
 Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation [Association] and auxiliaries, 14, 17, 30 ff., 39, 41, 43 ff., 50 ff., 56 ff., 61, 65, 67, 70 ff., 75, 78, 83, 85, 102, 105, 113, 117, 125, 134, 140, 142, 152, 155, 158, 167, 175, 179, 173 ff., 195, 198, 203, 210 ff., 220, 228, 230 f., 234, 248 f., 253, 262, 292, 297, 301, 311, 317  
 Murray, William Pitt, 31  
 Murrell, Gertrude, 155  
 Myers, Norma, 239  
 Nachlas Israel (Minneapolis), 120  
 Napoleon, Louis, 25  
 National Conference of Jewish Charities, 144, 219  
 National Council of Jewish Women, 119, 149 f., 151, 154, 221, 224, 229, 238, 264, 295  
 National Jewish Welfare Board, 245 ff., 258  
 Nativism, 266  
 Negroes, 26 f., 77, 87, 161, 193, 216, 272, 277, 284, 297  
 Neighborhood House (St. Paul), 154 f., 213, 220, 225, 257, 269, 291  
 Neiger, James, 220, 250  
 Neill, Rev. Edward Duffield, 29  
 Nelson, Rensselaer, 46  
 Ner Tamid Society, 294  
 Neumann, Bernhard, 311  
 Newman, Fannie, 42; Jacob, 40, 42  
 Newman, Joseph, 42  
 Newman, Rabbi Louis I., 296 f.  
 Newmann, Dr. David B., 316  
 Newmann, S., 34  
 New Richland, Minn., 318  
 New Ulm, Minn., 123, 243  
 Nichols, George C., 17  
 Nides, Nathan, 124  
 Noah (family), 48, 132, 225; Beatrice, 21; Carrie, 21; Eliza, 19; Horace M., 19; Jacob Jackson, 16 ff., 24, 256; John, 21; Mordecai Manuel, 16 ff.; William, 21  
 North Branch, Minn., 312

- Northfield, Minn., 318  
 Northrop, Cyrus, 179  
 North St. Paul, Minn., 318  
  
 Oak Park Home for Jewish Children (Minneapolis), 229  
 Oak Ridge Country Club, 292, 295  
 Ohaway Zion, 178  
*Occident*, 51 f.  
 Odd Fellows, 120  
 Oesterreicher [Oestreicher] (see Austrian)  
 Ohel Jacob (Minneapolis), 119, 314  
 Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, 22  
 Oppenheim, Joseph, 256  
 Oppenheimer, Abraham, 47, 290  
 Oppenheimer, Julius, 59  
 Oreckowsky, Charles, 138, 233, 235 f., 297; Israel, 136; Joseph, 136; Samuel, 135  
 Orenstein, Louis F., 198, 227 f.  
 Organ, introduction of, 70  
 Orthodox Judaism, 36, 56, 67, 70, 84, 111 f., 116, 118 f., 129, 136 f., 144 f., 171, 175 f., 187 f., 192, 194 f., 197 ff., 202 ff., 215, 217, 227, 233 f., 294, 299, 303 f., 314 f.  
 Osterman, M. E., 124  
 Osterweis, Rollin G., 77  
 Oswald, Edward, 135; Philip H., 134 f.  
 Owatonna, Minn., 316  
  
 Painted Woods Colony, 96 ff., 101, 104 ff., 141, 313 f.  
 Palestine Foundation Fund, 241  
 Palier, Anne M., 219  
 Paper-Calmenson Steel Co., 90, 296  
 Paper, Lewis, 204; Mrs. (Annie F. Shapira), 144, 204, 227  
 Papo, Joseph M., 135  
 Park Rapids, Minn., 318  
 Patterson, Colonel John H., 296  
 Pavian, Louis, 227, 312  
 Payne, Harriet, 243  
 Paynesville, Minn., 318  
 Peck, Morris, 250  
 Peilen, Joseph, 245 f., 247; Rachel, 200  
 People's Relief Committee, 249  
 Perelstein, Louis, 200  
 Pflaum (family), 144; Gustave, 64 f., 164; Samuel, 164  
 Philipps, L., 34  
 Phoenix Club, 162  
  
 Physicians, Jewish, 315 f.  
 Picquart, Colonel Georges, 89  
 Pinkus, Robert, 243  
 Pinski, David, 296  
 Pittsburgh Platform, 316  
 Plechner, Benjamin H., 59, 64 f., 311; Mrs. Benjamin H., 143; Freddie, 65; Tillie, 65; Louis R., 60, 65  
 Poale Zion, 179  
 Pogalsky, Max, 250  
 Polinsky (family), A. B., 137; Joseph, 136 f.; Mose, 135  
 Poland, Jews from, 35, 55 f., 95, 116; Duluthians from, 253  
 Polski, Charles, 56  
 Polski, Moses, 115  
 Pond, Revs. Samuel and Gideon, 61  
 Posnanski, E., 123  
 Postal, Bernard, 128, 159  
 Prairie du Chien, Wis., 9, 15  
 Prelvitz, W. W., 312  
 Presbyterians, 28, 254, 261  
 Press, Louis, 124, 312  
 Preston, Minn., 318  
 Princeton, Minn., 126  
 Proctorknott (Proctor), Minn., 318  
 Progressus Literary Society, 112, 161  
 Proselyte, first conversion of, 65; question concerning, 38  
 Protestants, 265, 276, 281 ff., 288 f.  
 Puritan influence, 28  
  
 Rabinowitz, Frank, 124  
 Rabinowitz, Mrs. Harris, 228  
 Rachlin, Abraham, 224  
 Railroad Immigrant House, 92  
 Rakovsky, Charles, 124  
 Ramsey, Gov. Alexander, 16 f., 21, 86  
 Ramsey County Medical Society, 315 f.  
 Raphall, Rabbi Morris J., 38  
 Raskin, Philip, 296  
 Rasky, Charles, 171  
 Ravicz, Harry, 233  
 Ravits, Myron, 199  
 Red Lake, Minn., 316  
 Red River, 4, 6  
 Red Wing, Minn., 318  
 Rees (family), 65, 132; Baszion Weinschenk, 63, 144, 164; Gustave, 64 f.; Julius 64; Ralph, 58, 64, 164; Theodore, 64  
 Reform Judaism, 36, 38, 53, 56, 67 f., 70, 75, 79 f., 83, 84, 105, 112 f., 115, 117, 135, 137, 151, 172 f., 175 f., 178 f.,

- 181 ff., 194 f., 198 ff., 207 f., 210, 212, 215, 217, 220, 233, 237, 252 f., 257, 296 ff., 303 f., 316 f.
- Republicans, 20, 25 f., 112, 127, 259
- Resler, Philip, 118
- Reuler, Agatha, 152
- Rice, Mayor Edmund, 92
- Rice, Senator Henry, 16, 47
- Rice, Jane, 73
- Rice, Samuel, 65
- Rigler, Dr. Leo, 278
- Rivkin, Mordecai, 118
- Riverton, Minn., 318
- Robitshek, Ernest, 145; Emil, 164; Joseph, 64 f., 164
- Rochester, Minn., 208 f., 312, 318
- Rogalsky, Max, 124
- Roisman, Jacob, 312
- Roisner, Mrs. Samuel, 226
- Roman, Albert, 124
- Romm, Rabbi Itamar, 171
- Roos, Louis, 137
- Rose (family), 40, 155; Albert N., 45, 60, 220; Mrs. (Mayme), 45, 163; Albert N., Jr., 45, 60; Benjamin, 34, 45 f., 58; Emanuel, 34, 45 f.; Harold, 45; Isaac Edgar, 45, 226; Isidor, 32, 34, 44 f., 161, 297; Mrs. (Nannie E. Levi), 45; Karl, 34; Nathan Simon, 45
- Rose, H., 34
- Rose, Isaac, 9
- Rose, M., 34
- Rose, Philip M., 60
- Rosecreek, Minn., 312
- Rose Township, Minn., 9
- Rosen, Harry, 177
- Rosenberg, A. C., 312
- Rosenberg, Harris, 314
- Rosenberg, Henry, 178
- Rosenberg, Jacob, 171
- Rosenblatt, Bernard A., 304
- Rosenblatt, Cantor Joseph, 296
- Rosenbloom family, 124
- Rosenfels, Simon, 58 f., 230
- Rosenfield brothers (Morris, Isaac and Louis), 65
- Rosenfield, Harry, 312
- Rosenfield, Jacob, 200
- Rosenholtz, Jennie, 194; Mayer, 56, 198; Mrs., 226; Jascha, 56
- Rosenthal, Abraham, 199
- Rosenthal, Barney, 115
- Rosenthal, Harry, 239; Rose (*see* Calmenson)
- Rosenthal, Dr. Robert, 56, 65, 74, 315 f.
- Rosenwald, John L., 127
- Rosenwald, Julius, 50, 249, 253, 297; Lessing, 50
- Rosh Hashanah*, 51, 67, 84
- Rossmann, Mauritz, 177, 202
- Rotary Club, 227, 274
- Roth, Ben and Louis, 124
- Rothschild, Cyrus, 65
- Rothschild, Dr. Harry, 168
- Rothschild, Herman, 64
- Rothschild, Joseph, 20
- Rothschild, Maurice L., 164
- Rothschild, Minna, 164
- Rothschild, Samuel, 65
- Roubin, Rabbi Solomon, 196 f.
- Royalton Village, Minn., 318
- Ruben, Isaac H., 249 f.
- Rubenstein, Isaac, 209
- Rubenstein, Samuel, 198
- Rubloff, Sol, 124
- Rudawsky, Ike, 199 f.
- Rudowsky, Samuel, 312
- Rumanian Hebrew Congregation (Minneapolis), 119
- Rumanian Jews, 110
- Rumelsky, Samuel, 209
- Russia, Jews from, 35, 42, 57, 91, 102, 104, 112 f., 116, 137, 202, 222, 268, 270, 294 f.
- Russian Brotherhood (St. Paul), 116 f., 202
- Russian Hebrew Charity Association, 145, 222
- Ruthton, Minn., 318
- Ruvelson, David, 234; Edith, 116
- Rypins, Rabbi Isaac L., 88, 116, 154 f., 163, 167, 175, 179, 189, 210 ff., 228, 234 f., 241, 247 f., 250, 257 f., 261, 263, 290, 300 ff., Mrs. (Esther Franklin), 151 f., 245, 211, 258; Dr. Russell, 212; Stanley, 168
- Sabbath laws, 28
- St. Anthony, Minn., 4, 26, 42, 50, 54, 61, 317
- St. Cloud, Minn., 125
- St. Croix Falls, 4, 9, 13
- St. Luke's Hospital, 316
- St. Paul (*see* note on p. 331)
- St. Paul Athletic Club, 280, 292
- St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, 11
- St. Paul City and County Hospital, 315
- St. Paul College of Medicine, 315



- St. Paul Community Chest, 255, 281  
 St. Paul Hebrew Institute and Sheltering Home, 203, 226, 259  
 St. Paul Jewish Day Nursery, 225  
 St. Paul Red Cross, 245, 281  
 St. Paul Social Club, 134  
 St. Paul Talmud Torah, 175  
 Salet, Leon, 175, 199, 250, 295; Mrs., 199, 248  
 Salomon, Meyer L., 34 f., 42 f., 45  
 Samuel, Maurice Mordecai, 9 f., 15  
 Samuelson, W. A., 312  
 Sandstone, Minn., 318  
 Saper, Simon, 124  
 Salzberger, Sol, 65  
 Sanborn, John, 86  
 Sattler (family), David C., 59; Joseph D., 60, 134  
 Sauk Centre, Minn., 125  
 Sax (family), 132; Solomon, 124, 127, 260, 297  
 Sax, Minn., 127  
 Schalit, Eleazar Elhanan, 178  
 Schallinger, Carl, 125  
 Schanfeld, Joseph, 118, 120, 145, 197, 228, 233, 250, 295, 297, 304  
 Schechter, Rabbi Solomon, 194, 197, 234, 303  
 Scheiner, Samuel, 274  
 Schiff, Jacob H., 97, 108 f.  
 Schifferes, Bismarck and I., 121; Cille, 121; Marta, 121; Rose, 121; Theresa, 121  
 Schiffman, Dr. Rudolph, 316  
 Schlesinger, Julia (*see* Bergman)  
 Schmiedl, Dr. Adolf, 69  
 Schneider, Nathan, 224  
 Schochet, Israel I., 171  
 Schoenlank, Hannah and Jennie, 65  
 Schoffman, Anna (*see* Isaac Marks)  
 Schreiber (family), 67; Bernard, 47; Dora, 47; Rosalie, 47  
 Schreiber, Rabbi, 82  
 Schreiber, W., 34  
 Schulman, Isaac, 118, 120, 127, 254, 314  
 Schuster, S., 34  
 Schutter, Marion D., 241  
 Schwab, Max, 220 f., 228 f.; Mrs. (Sally), 220  
 Schwartz, Louis, 198 f., 233; Mrs. (Anna Kleinman), 200, 238 f.  
 Skorow, Elijah, 78  
 Scribe, *The*, 166  
 Sebek, Minn., 318  
 Seelenfreund, Abraham B., 230, 233  
 Seesel, Mrs. Howard J., Sr., 45; H. James, Jr., 45  
 Segal, Rabbi Aaron, 209  
 Segal, Rabbi David, 56  
 Segelbaum, Max M., 65, 164; Sander, 65  
 Seham, Dr. Max, 118  
 Seixas family, 46  
 Self-Denial Club, 249  
 Seltzer, Rabbi Louis, 204, 229; Mrs. (Tessie), 229  
 Shaarai Tov (Minneapolis), 64, 66, 68, 74, 78 f., 82, 117, 119, 121, 148, 158, 162, 171, 179, 190 f., 195, 213, 217, 249, 317  
*Shabbosdige Post*, 298  
*Shabu'ot*, 175  
 Shakopee, Minn., 125, 312  
 Shalett, Max, 254; Simon Joseph, 171, 314  
 Shapira, Albert I., 228, 248, 250  
 Shapiro, Abraham, 229  
 Shapiro, Joseph, 137  
 Shapiro, Leo, 250  
 Shapiro, Marcus, 227 f.  
 Shapiro, Max B., 124, 135  
 Shapiro, Meyer, 312  
 Shapiro, Mrs. Moses, 144  
 Shapiro, Norman, 171  
 Shapiro, R. S., 124  
 Shanedling, Julius, 249 f.; Marcus, 124  
 Sharay Shomayim (St. Paul), 203  
 Shaarei Zedek (Duluth), 207  
 Sharei Zedeck (Minneapolis), 204 f., 229  
 Sharey Hesed, 202  
 Sharey Hesed Woemet (St. Paul), 116  
 Shedorsky, Louis, 199  
*Shehitah*, 182  
 Sheltering Home for Transients, 222  
 Sherer, Walter J., 312  
 Sherper, Dr. Myron, 199, 235, 239  
 Shilt, Louis, 65; Mrs., 151  
 Shinedling, Rabbi Abraham, 37  
*Shohet*, early engagement of, 30 f., 37, 46, 50  
 Shore, Zelig, 118  
 Shulman, Max, 155  
 Shushansky, Marcus, 227  
 Sibley, Henry H., 4, 17, 19, 86  
 Siegel, Mrs. Julius S., 224  
 Siegel, Samuel, 124  
 Siegel, Zalman, 136  
 Silber, Rabbi Mendel, 135, 138, 191  
 Silber, Rabbi Solomon Mordecai, 171, 206, 249, 254, 303

- Silberstein, Bernard, 132 ff., 137, 224, 260, 297 f.; Edward A., 224, 233, 260, 297 ff., 304
- Silberstein, Edith (Mrs. Alexander Silver), 204
- Silberstein, Dr. Julius, 316
- Silver, Rabbi Abba Hillel, 297
- Silver, Alexander, 116, 204
- Silverman, Harry, 200
- Silverstein, Louis, 229
- Simon, David, 124, 164, 222
- Simon, Rabbi Herman, 116, 126, 175, 202 f., 226, 234; Mrs., 226
- Simon, Joseph G., 164
- Simon, William, 124
- Sinai, Rabbi Aaron H., 206
- Sinsheimer, Minna, 151
- Sioux Indians, 3, 10, 15, 27, 313
- Sisters of Peace, 115, 140, 144 f., 218, 222, 227
- Skoll, Jacob, 64 f.; Mrs. (Ray M.), 120, 144
- Skorish, Ephraim Eli, 56, 228; Moses, 239
- Sloan, Bertha (*see* Calmenson)
- Sloan, Simon D., 239
- Slobin, Herman L., 168
- Smith, Joseph, 59
- Smith, Joseph A., 311
- Smith, Rev. Samuel, 88
- Snelling, Col. Josiah, 3
- Snitzer, Samuel, 137
- Social Club (St. Paul), 59 f., 149
- Sokolow, Nahum, 296
- Solomon, Ezekiel, 9
- Solomon, Hannah G., 149, 238
- Solomon, Nathan E., 164
- Sommers (family), 290; Benjamin, 297
- Sonnenberg, C. J., 312
- Sonneschein, Rabbi Solomon H., 67
- Sons of Abraham (St. Paul), 116 f., 175, 202 f., 249 (*see also* B'nai Abraham)
- Sons of Israel (St. Paul), 202
- Sons of Jacob (St. Paul), 56, 102, 105, 115 ff., 158, 175, 184, 201 f., 204, 234, 249, 312
- Sons of Moses (St. Paul), 202
- Sons of Temperance, 28
- Sons of Zion (St. Paul), 112, 116, 202 f.
- South St. Paul, Minn., 318
- South Side Neighborhood House, 229
- South Side Talmud Torah, 205
- Spangenberg, Oscar, 312
- Spanier, Henry, 312
- Spanish-American War, 243
- Spicer, Nathan, 9
- Spiro, Rabbi Melford, 170
- Stacker, Aaron, 175
- Stagl, Betty (Mrs. Leopold Wintner), 70
- Stameshkin, Isadore, 312
- Standard Club (St. Paul), 59, 92, 160, 163, 292 f.
- Standard Club (Minneapolis), 293
- Staples, Minn., 52, 318
- State League of Zionist Societies, 239
- Steiner, Albert C., 312
- Stemple, Cantor Isaac, 67
- Stern, Rabbi Malcolm, 17, 21
- Stein, Abe, 177
- Stein, Jacob, 124
- Stein, Rabbi Leopold, 188
- Stein, Mrs. Henry, 151
- Stein, Morris, 180, 250
- Stein, Nathan, 124
- Stein, Sam, 200
- Steinberg, Mrs. Charles, 145
- Steinberg, L., 116
- Steinhauser, Capt. Albert, 243
- Stern, H., 224
- Sternberg, Alexander, 187; Ike, 160
- Stewartville, Minn., 318
- Stillwater, Minn., 4, 50, 123, 318
- Stöcker, Adolf, 79
- Stoffer, Maurice, 233
- Straus, Charles, 155, 220; Mrs., 151
- Strauss, Felix, 47
- Strauss, Simon, 125
- Stromberg, Abraham, 164
- Strouse, Mrs. Max, 163
- Sulzberger Colony, 108
- Summerfield, Isaac, 221, 250
- Sunday laws, 263
- Supreme Court of Honor, 176
- Swanville, Minn., 312
- Szold, Henrietta, 237
- Talmudists, 64, 80
- Temple of Aaron (St. Paul), 90, 198 ff., 203, 205, 226, 234, 243, 249, 296, 303
- Temple Emanuel (Duluth), 137 f., 180, 191, 233, 238
- Temple Guild, 146, 153
- Temple Israel (*see* Shaarai Tov)
- Teplitz, Israel, 138
- Tessler, Dr. Marcus, 167, 248
- Thief River Falls, Minn., 318
- Thomsen, Elsie, 200
- Tifereth B'nai Jacob [Israel] (Minne-

- apolis), 121 205  
 Tifereth Israel (Duluth), 137 f.  
 Tifereth Zion, 177  
 Tikwath Zion Gate, 238  
 Tomskey, Rabbi Mervin, 171  
 Taussig, Sigmund, 164  
 Tower, Minn., 124, 312  
 Tracy, Minn., 318  
 Two Harbors, Minn., 318
- Ueland, Mrs. Andreas, 149  
 Ullman, Joseph, 34 f., 40, 43 ff.; Mrs. (Amelia), 22 f., 36, 44, 289  
 Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 84, 137, 317  
*Union Prayer Book*, 188  
 Unitarians, 7, 83, 86, 297  
 United Hebrew Charities (Minneapolis), 145  
 United Charities (St. Paul), 145, 220  
 United Jewish Charities of St. Paul, 144, 218  
 United War Fund, 245  
 Unity Church (St. Paul), 241  
 University of Minnesota, 168, 214, 258, 278, 299, 304, 315
- Van Baalen (family), 134  
 Vermillion, Minn., 124  
 Virginia, Minn., 124 f., 128, 249 f., 318
- Wabasha, Minn., 318  
 Wadena, Minn., 125  
 Waisbren, Nathan, 171  
 Wakefield, James Beach, 24  
 Wallace (*see* Sax, Minn.)  
 Warburg, Otto, 296  
 War Records Committee, 245  
 Warren, John, 24  
 Warren, John Esaias, 24  
 Warshauer, Max, 185  
 Washburn, Gen. Cadwallader Calden, 86  
 Wechsler, Hirsch, 75; Rabbi Judah, 56 f., 66, 75 ff., 83 ff., 92, 95 ff., 112, 123, 184 ff., 213, 313 f.  
 Wechsler's Painted Woods, 97  
 Wechsler School, 77  
 Weil, Charles, 233; Hannah, 164; Isaac, 65, 164, 233; Jonas, 145, 269, 297  
 Weiller, Henry, 221; Mrs. (Amalia), 251 f.  
 Weinberg, Raphael J., 171; Theodore, 172  
 Weinstein, Mrs. Rosa, 226
- Weis, Harry F., 127  
 Weiskopf, [Weiskoff], Bertha, 150 f., 164, 296; David, 65; Henry, 65, 164  
 Weisner, Betty, 151  
 Weiss, Gertrude, 239  
 Weiss, Nettie, 133  
 Weixelbaum, Harry, 64  
 Wells, Minn., 125  
 Werth, Louis, 65; Mary, 144, 164  
 Westheimer, Jacob, 220 f.; Mrs., 220  
 Whist Club, 162  
 White Bear Lake, Minn., 220, 318  
 Whitehead, Myer, 134  
 Wilk, Jacob, 168; Mrs. (Julia Levy), 144, 164  
 Wilk, Morris and Herman, 65  
 Williams, J. Fletcher, 10, 28  
 Willis, Judge John W., 179, 272  
 Willmar, Minn., 318  
 Willmont, Minn., 312  
 Willner, Caroline, 14  
 Willow River, Minn., 126  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 216  
 Wimpelberg, Dr. Samuel, 316  
 Windom, Minn., 318  
 Winer, Lillian, 200; Samuel, 249  
 Winona, Minn., 125, 315, 318  
 Winterfield, Jacob H., 134  
 Winthrop, Mose, 127  
 Wintner, Dr. Leopold, 14, 69 ff., 72 f., 74; Pinchas, 69  
 Wirth, Jacob, 153; Sophie, 146, 153 ff., 220  
 Wise, Rabbi Isaac M., 38, 51, 70, 80, 148, 183, 185, 187  
 Wise, Rabbi Stephen S., 178 f., 239, 261, 317  
 Wolf, Rabbi M., 124  
 Wolf, Simon, 311  
 Wolfe, Benjamin, 220  
 Wolff, Carrie M., 150  
 Wolff, Maurice, 245, 247, 297; Mrs. (Annalee), 149 ff., 245, 296 f.  
 Wolff, Max, 65, 164, 311  
 Wolff, Sigmund, 60  
 Woman's City Club, 149  
 Woodland, Minn., 65  
 Workmen's Circle, 177, 224  
 World War, First, 243 ff., 268 ff., 273, 279, 291, 300, 306, 311 f.  
 World War, Second, 244, 251, 268, 306  
 Worthington, Minn., 318
- Yancy, Josephine, 65 f.  
*Yom Kippur*, 83, 117 f., 130



- Young Men's Aid Society, 116
- Young Men's Hebrew Association, 149, 217, 224, 232, 294
- Young People's Literary and Social Club, 162
- Young Women's Educational Alliance, 176
- Young Zionists, 177
- Zalk, Eva, 224; Max, 136
- Zangwill, Israel, 179
- Zemach, Rabbi Abraham, 171
- Zeta Beta Tau chapter, 168
- Zien, Jacob D., 135, 137 f.
- Zionism, 177 ff., 211, 214 ff., 237 ff., 252, 290, 296, 299, 316 f.
- Zionist Emergency Council, 128
- Zion Society, 138, 238
- Ziskin (family), 124
- Ziskin, Dr. Thomas, 233, 239, 245
- Zola, Emile, 87
- Zumbrota, Minn., 318







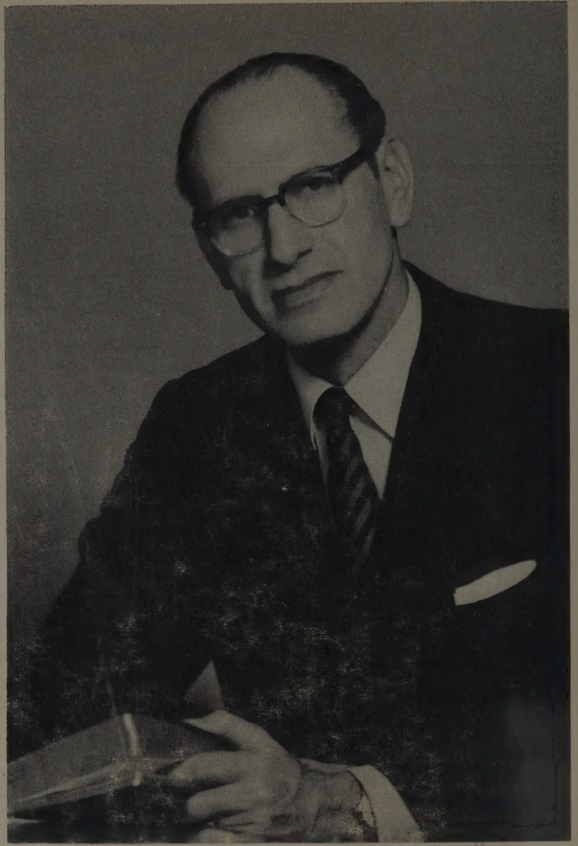


*Continued from front flap*

dreamer, who rose to political prominence in Minnesota, signing its Constitution as its Secretary, and later became Acting Secretary of War under President Hayes. The human stories are set into a framework which traces the organic growth of communities, especially those of St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth—how their organizational structures were formed and what forces were thereafter at play. The author analyzes divergent religious philosophies and the importance of national backgrounds, and he shows how the sociological constellations of the community had a direct bearing on the theology and ritual of the Reform and Conservative congregations. He also throws new light on the puzzling question why Minneapolis met with so much more anti-Semitism than did St. Paul. The great mass of scholarly references and the detailed index make the volume particularly valuable.

Dr. Bertram W. Korn, President of the American Jewish Historical Society, has contributed the Foreword to the book.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
New York



W. GUNTHER PLAUT

Dr. W. Gunther Plaut is a Minnesotan by choice. Since 1948 he has been rabbi of the state's oldest Jewish temple, Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation of St. Paul. Trained first in the law (he received his doctorate in jurisprudence from the University of Berlin in 1934), he was graduated from Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 1939. He came to Minnesota after rabbinical service in Chicago and military service as a Chaplain in the European theatre in World War II. His communal activities have ranged widely: he has been President of the St. Paul Gallery and School of Art (1953-1959), a member of the Governor's Human Rights Commission since 1949, and is Chairman of the Governor's Committee on Ethics in Government. For ten years he has spoken to the community through his own radio program.

His writings have appeared mainly in scholarly journals, as well as in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* which he served as Contributing Editor. He is the author of *High Holiday Services for Children* (now in its 9th edition), and of *Mount Zion, 1856-1956 - The First Hundred Years*. At present he is at work on a commentary on the *Book of Proverbs*.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Broadway at 122nd Street, New York 27, N.Y.